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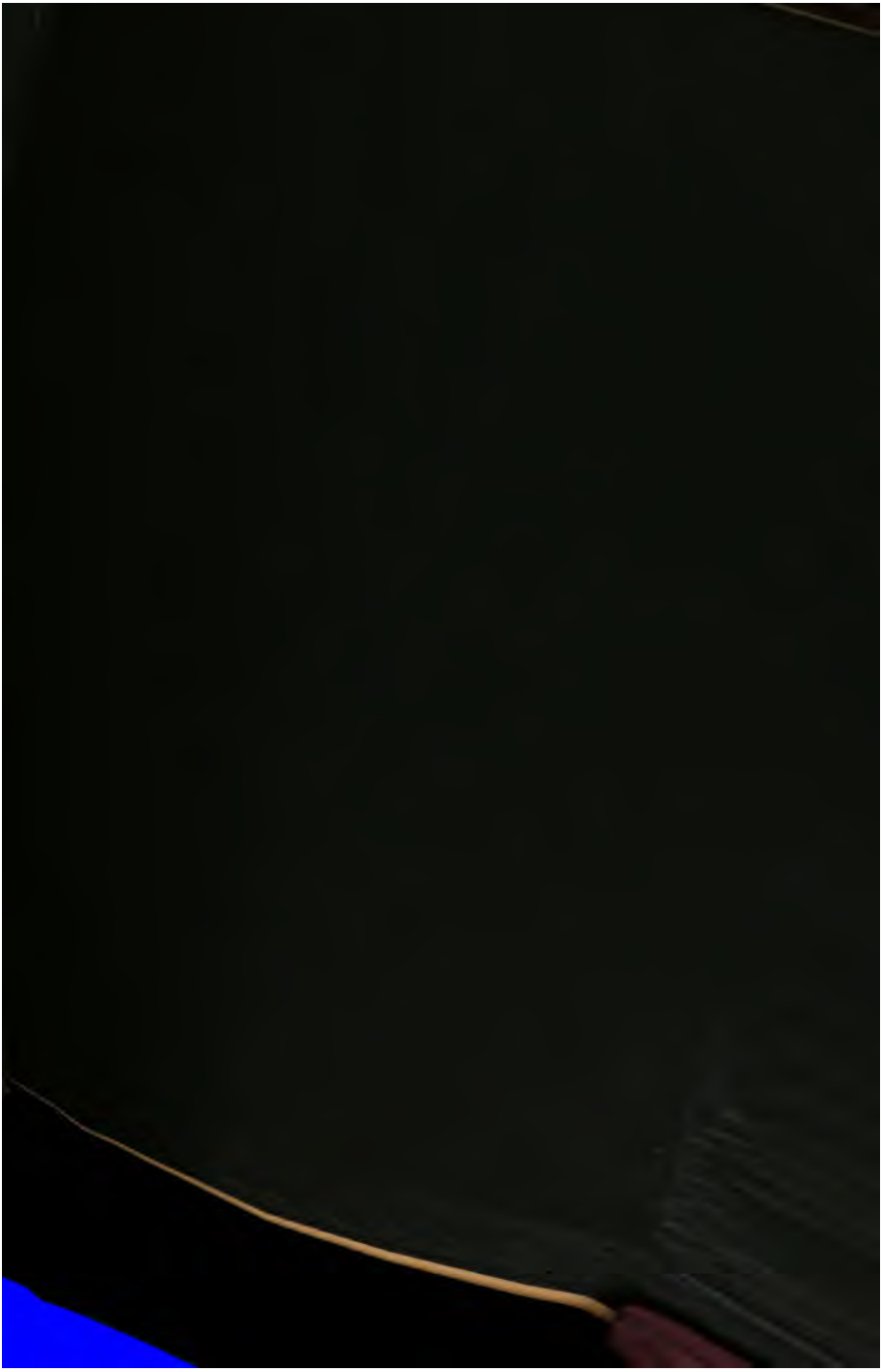

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THE ATHANASIAN CREED

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THE

ATHANASIAN CREED

AN EXAMINATION OF

Recent Theories respecting its Date and Origin

WITH A POSTSCRIPT

REFERRING TO PROFESSOR SWAINSON'S ACCOUNT OF ITS GROWTH AND RECEPTION, WHICH IS CONTAINED IN HIS WORK ENTITLED "THE NICENE AND APOSTLES' CREEDS, THEIR LITERARY HISTORY"

BY

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Dr. Swainson's and Mr. Ffoulkes' theories. According to the former the Athanasian Creed was the product of the eighth and ninth centuries, and was formed by a long process of growth. According to the latter it was a forgery, compiled by Paulinus, and published by Charlemagne A.D. 802 as the work of St. Athanasius 1

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Page 11, line 15, for "would" read "could."
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„ 106, „ 21, for "find that the Profession" read "find the Profession."

INTRODUCTION.

THE recent controversy respecting the retention of the Athanasian Creed in the Church of England has given birth to two theories in regard to the date and origin of this document. In 1870, in his book entitled 'The Athanasian Creed, and its Usage in the English Church,' Dr. Swainson, Norrisian Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, propounded the view that "it had grown to its present form by a frequent series of accretions, being augmented to meet emergencies," the latter part of the ninth century being apparently fixed by him as the period when this growth was completed. In his opinion, the second clause of the Creed was not introduced till after the time of Alcuin, who died A.D. 804; clauses 28 and 29 ("He therefore that will be saved," etc.), not till after Hincmar, who died A.D. 882. Clauses 21–23 ("The Father is made of none," etc.) may also have been insertions of that period.* Towards the end of the year 1871 a bolder theory was advanced by the Rev. E. S. Ffoulkes, that the Creed was compiled in the year A.D. 800 by Paulinus, Archbishop of

* Swainson 'On the Athanasian Creed,' pp. 69, 70, 74.

Aquileia, and was afterwards palmed upon the world by Charlemagne as the genuine work of St. Athanasius, Paulinus and his friend Alcuin being parties to the fraud. This was followed by a further development of Dr. Swainson's hypothesis. He now declared it to be his matured conviction, that while the latter part of the Creed, that relating to the incarnation, might be of the date to which Waterland assigned the whole, yet, as a whole, in its present form it did not exist before the middle of the ninth century, particularly that the clauses from 7 to 20 inclusive could not be proved to have belonged to it till after that period.* At the time of writing his book he had been under the impression that these clauses had been "almost verbally recited" by Hincmar on a certain occasion, but in the interval he appears to have discovered his mistake. More recently this theory has been enunciated by its author in a more definite form—"that while the Creed grew to its present form, between the years 750 and 870, the finishing move was made in the last-named year."†

These theories have been subjected to much criticism in pamphlets and periodicals. In particular, Professors Heurtley, Stubbs, Jones, and Brewer have supplied valuable contributions towards arriving at a calm and true determination of the subject. The writer proposes to condense and systematize the materials thus sup-

* Letter to 'The Guardian,' March 20th, 1872.
† 'Plea for Delay,' etc. Published 1873.

plied, supplementing them with such further arguments as have occurred to his own mind, and with such further information as he has been able to glean. And he will make particular reference, whenever there appears occasion, to Mr. Ffoulkes' last work on 'The Athanasian Creed Reconsidered,' and to Dr. Swainson's 'Plea for Delay,' etc., which presents his theory in its latest phase; neither of these works having as yet received the notice which they require.

The subject obviously divides itself into two main branches of enquiry; viz., Is the Athanasian Creed a forgery according to Mr. Ffoulkes' hypothesis? and if not a forgery, is it a work of the late age to which he and Dr. Swainson assign it? These are distinct questions; and before entering upon them it seems desirable to endeavour to arrive at some estimate of the relative importance of the issues which they respectively involve. If it could be proved that lying and fraud had been indeed employed in the publication of the Creed, and the veneration of the Christian world which has attached to it for centuries was gained by the aid of false credentials, fabricated in the first instance to serve the political ambition of a great monarch, such a circumstance would be likely to lower the symbol in men's estimation, possibly might shake their faith in the truths which it declares. They might forget the intrinsic excellence of the document in their indignation against the impostures with which its

history was interwoven. It is, therefore, of real moment to show the groundlessness of this charge of forgery. Happily this is not a difficult task. The allegation melts away before the light of enquiry. It is not of equal importance to refute the assertion of a late origin. The advocates for the retention of the Creed do not rest their case upon mere archæological grounds. They do not stake the issue upon the decision of the question, whether a particular letter in a MS. is Irish or Anglo-Saxon, or whether a certain MS. belongs to the sixth century or to the eighth or ninth. Let me not be understood as disparaging the claims of antiquity upon our consideration. Our feelings of veneration for the Creed are necessarily enhanced by the belief that it is a work of the fourth or fifth century; and it is a subject of thankfulness that the evidence, external as well as internal, on which this belief is grounded, so far from being shaken by any arguments alleged during the present controversy, has been rather confirmed and augmented. But it is not essential, though doubtless advantageous, to be able to maintain the ancient date and origin of the Creed, any more than it is to trace its authorship. The admissions of its opponents are alone sufficient to establish on its behalf a tolerably strong position. "The Athanasian Creed," says Mr. Ffoulkes,* "expressed the doctrine of the Trinity quite consistently with the views which had been long current of it in

* 'The Athanasian Creed Reconsidered,' p. 18.

the West, were mainly derivable from St. Augustine, and had never excited opposition in any part of the Church;" *i. e.* it expresses the doctrine of Trinity, as expounded principally by the greatest doctor of the Church since the age of the apostles, and universally accepted in the Church. And Dr. Swainson* tells us that from about the middle of the ninth century "every Psalter contains 'the Creed,' and it is continually referred to in episcopal injunctions and canons;" *i. e.* it has been certainly recited in the public worship of the Church for a thousand years. In order to justify the demand, whether for the removal of the Creed from the position in the Church's offices which it has so long occupied, or for its mutilation by the silencing of its assertions respecting the necessity to salvation of belief in the Catholic faith, it would not be sufficient to prove it to be a compilation of the eighth or ninth century, nor yet to prove that it passed through a long process of growth before attaining its present completeness. Those who would make good the one or the other of these demands have to show that the Creed is an untrue exposition of the Catholic faith, of 'the faith once delivered to the saints;' that its doctrines, and in particular those of the Trinity and Incarnation, are not part of God's revealed truth, but are at variance with His holy Word, as interpreted and understood by the Universal Church.

* Letter to 'The Guardian,' March 20, 1872.

CHAPTER I.

MR. FFOULKES' THEORY IMPROBABLE A PRIORI.

ON approaching the consideration of the hypothesis on which Mr. Ffoulkes bases his charge of forgery, the first thing that strikes the mind is the aspect of improbability presented by it. It is improbable as regards the persons whom he supposes to have perpetrated the fraud, as regards the motives imputed to them, and as regards the document itself, which was the subject of the imaginary transaction.

1. The persons represented as taking a secondary and subordinate part in deliberately palming the *Quicunque vult* upon the world as the work of St. Athanasius, knowing it not to be so, are Alcuin and Paulinus, leading ecclesiastics of their day, and men whose memories have been hitherto held in honour by the Church as having served God faithfully in their generation. Alcuin, an Englishman by birth and education, successively pupil and master of the Archiepiscopal School at York, went to Gaul upon the invitation of Charlemagne, who was attracted by his high reputation as a divine and scholar, and who, after conferring

upon him several honourable and responsible offices, eventually placed him at the head of the great abbey of St. Martin at Tours. A man's epistolary correspondence affords to after ages a nearer and truer insight into his character than can be found in his public writings, or even in any record of his life composed by any but a personal friend. And happily a great number of Alcuin's letters have been preserved to us, addressed to friends and acquaintances, personal and official. On this point, which has been laboured with great power by Professor Jones, suffice it to say that they are the letters of a man not only spending his life in the occupations of religion, but sincerely religious in his heart of hearts. The man who wrote them, if this was not his character, must certainly have been a profound and accomplished hypocrite. He exhorts one, rebukes another, consoles a third, repeatedly requests the prayers of his correspondents, replies to inquiries on questions of theology and religion, under a sense of increasing infirmity and advancing age expresses his earnest desire to be released from secular occupations, that he might spend his few remaining years in preparing to meet his God. To mention a few particulars. His intimate friend Arno, Archbishop of Salzburg, having been appointed an imperial deputy or judge, is cautioned of the danger of allowing himself to be drawn away from the spiritual duties of the Episcopate;* to Adalhard, Abbot of Corbey,

* Ep. cli. Migne's 'Patrologia,' c. pp. 399, 400.

he expresses his pleasure at hearing of the moral improvement in the conduct of their mutual acquaintance Angilbert, whose fondness for theatrical exhibitions and the society of actors he had previously condemned;* the monks at Corbey he urges to diligence in the practice of the monastic virtues, especially in the religious education and training of youth;† his friends at York he entreats not to suffer themselves to be influenced by simony in the approaching election of an archbishop—a sad evidence, by the way, that the sin was not unusual in those days.‡ Nor is it at all clear that he was to blame in the quarrel which broke out towards the close of his life between himself and Archbishop Theodulph of Orleans. The occurrence looks like a conflict between temporal and spiritual jurisdiction. Charlemagne charged him with disobedience to an imperial command in admitting to asylum in his church Theodulph's fugitive cleric. He defended himself by appeal to Canon Law. Theodulph was not his bishop, and was probably at the time an imperial deputy.§ Paulinus, too, was, so far as we are able to judge, a man of irreproachable integrity. He was a friend and correspondent of Alcuin, and the two were associated in the work of refuting the Adoptionist heresy. We have several letters and verses addressed to him by Alcuin, which speak in the most

* Epp. clxxxix. cxc. Migne's 'Patrologia,' c. pp. 462–464.
† Ibid, ep. liii. p. 219. ‡ Ibid, ep. liv. p. 220.
§ Ibid, epp. cxlix. clvii. clviii.; also Editor's notes to ep. cxlvii.

deferential terms of his character for learning and sanctity.* These are the men whom Mr. Ffoulkes charges with "propagating what they must have known to be a fraud and a lie."†

In his last work, Mr. Ffoulkes endeavours to modify the imputations cast by him upon the characters of Alcuin and Paulinus. He had charged them, he says, with nothing more than acquiescence—a passive acquiescence—in the behests of a patron whom they were afraid of disobeying; and this acquiescence, he adds, would not necessarily commit them to more than the admission that the Creed "had been culled from the works of Athanasius; in other words, that it expressed his faith."‡ But this is inconsistent. If there is any truth in the story which Mr. Ffoulkes asks us to believe, that the Athanasian Creed was compiled by Paulinus, that for two years at least the circumstance was kept a profound secret by himself and his friend Alcuin, who was privy to it, and then, when the Creed was published by Charlemagne, as the work of Athanasius, that they still held their peace and allowed the Christian world to be imposed upon by what they knew to be a lie, it is impossible to acquit them of guilty complicity in a deliberate fraud. Mr. Ffoulkes is betrayed into a similar inconsistency afterwards,§ when he states that

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' v. c. pp. 203, 342; also v. ci. pp. 789, 790.
† 'Age, Aim, and Authorship of the Athanasian Creed,' p. 258.
‡ 'Athanasian Creed Reconsidered,' pp. 69, 72. § Ibid, p. 74.

he "may have charged Alcuin unfairly with uttering what he must have known to be false, in describing the *Quicunque* as 'the Exposition of Faith composed by St. Athanasius,'" and explains himself as meaning that Alcuin "may, by such inadvertence as has been just brought home to him in his other writings, have confused it with the genuine work of St. Athanasius which bears that title." "Confused it with the genuine work of St. Athanasius!" Is this possible, upon Mr. Ffoulkes' hypothesis? Does he not tell us in his first work, and does he not repeat the assertion in his second, that Alcuin had complimented Paulinus upon his composition of the Athanasian Creed? and is not this assertion the very basis of Mr. Ffoulkes' theory? If it is true, there would have been no confusion in the mind of Alcuin in regard to the authorship of the Creed. If it is not true, then the whole theory falls to the ground. Besides, to be negligent in making quotations (this is the "inadvertence" alluded to in the above passage) is one thing; to represent a certain document as the work of one long deceased, knowing it to be the work of a contemporary, is another and a very different thing. But really, in thus charging Alcuin with negligence, Mr. Ffoulkes lays himself open to the same charge in a much more serious degree. Firstly, he states that a work of Alcuin—'Adversus Hæresin Felicis'—which consists of seventy-two chapters, "barely consists of threescore chapters in

all."* Then of the eight instances of negligence in quotation which he produces from this work, four certainly cannot be brought under this category, being from unknown works (according to Frobenius) which probably have perished, as no doubt many documents which were extant in the eighth and ninth centuries have done. The same may he said of another quotation, for it cannot be proved that more than a part of it is assigned to the wrong author. In the sixth instance Alcuin speaks of a letter being written by Alexander bishop of Constantinople to Alexander bishop of Alexandria, when it was really written by the latter to the former. Frobenius considers that this error (anyhow not a very inexcusable one) may be attributable to the carelessness of a copyist. In the seventh he describes Chromatius as bishop of Rome, though Aquileia was his see; but here he may have been misled by MSS. of Chromatius' writings, which are known to contain this wrong description. Lastly he quotes as from the etymologies of St. Isidore a passage which is to be found in another work by the same author. Mr. Ffoulkes speaks of this passage as belonging "to a nameless author:" had he read Frobenius' note with a little more care, he would have observed that it is to be found in St. Isidore 'de Doctrina et Fide Eccles. Dogmatum,' cap. 2.† Thus far the

* 'Athanasian Creed Reconsidered,' p. 73.

† Alcuin's quotation is really from the profession of faith known

negligence of which Alcuin is convicted is not very serious. Indeed, considering how very often, before the introduction of printing, persons in making quotations from earlier writers must have been misled by errors which had crept into the text before their time, it may fairly be pronounced insignificant; and many will think that the charge only recoils upon its author—an opinion which they will not be likely to alter upon hearing what remains to be said under the head of this indictment. Mr. Ffoulkes adds, that "in the third book of his (*i. e.* Alcuin's) work against Elipand there are no less than four consecutive chapters *stolen* without acknowledgment from a work of Paulinus against Felix, published some years before."* This is not the case. These four chapters of Alcuin bear just that amount of resemblance with the corresponding chapters of Paulinus which might be expected, from the circum-

as 'Liber de Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis,' and generally ascribed to Gennadius. That it is the work of Gennadius is far from certain; Walafridus Strabo being the earliest authority for so regarding it. It has been also assigned to St. Augustine, to Alcuin, to Bracharius, a Spanish bishop in the seventh century, and to St. Isidore. It was edited as the work of Isidore by Margarinus de la Bigne upon the authority of a MS. in the library of Peter Daniel of Orleans, and entitled, 'Isidori Hispalensis episcopi de Doctrina et Fide Ecclesiasticorum dogmatum libellus.' Evidently Frobenius believed it to be the work of Isidore, and referred to it as such. It appears to have escaped notice that Alcuin assigns this profession of faith without hesitation to Isidore, describing it as "symbolum quod beatus Isidorus in etymologiis composuit." Possibly it was annexed to the etymologies or inserted in them in the copy used by Alcuin. * Ibid, p. 74.

stance that the former wrote his work shortly after reading that of the latter. In the fourteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth chapters, the verbal coincidence is limited to the quotations from SS. Hilary, Athanasius, and Augustine. In quoting from the same authorities in reference to the same subject the two writers cite several of the same passages, and they would do so naturally, almost unavoidably. This is no proof that the one *stole* from the other, and there is sufficient evidence to show that Alcuin did not copy slavishly from Paulinus. The former omits several quotations which are found in the latter, and adds some which the latter omits. It is very noticeable that Alcuin entirely passes over some passages which Paulinus quotes as from St. Augustine, but which are really from Fulgentius. This does not look like stealing. And where the one quotes the same passages as the other there is in some instances a variation of reading, or words are omitted or added. The fifteenth chapter presents considerable difficulty. After referring, like Paulinus, to a passage of St. Ambrose in his exposition of St. Luke, Alcuin continues in the very words of Paulinus, introducing them as a quotation by the word "inquit." As the text stands at present they appear as a quotation from St. Ambrose; but it is impossible to suppose that Alcuin could have mistaken the words of his friend and contemporary for those of St. Ambrose. Let alone the construction and sense of the whole passage which

would have prevented this, the expression "more tuo" ("nec ideo, inquit, datur tibi facultas refellendi, more tuo," etc.) must have made it plain to him, that the words were addressed by Paulinus to Felix. The conclusion is unavoidable, that some corruption has crept into the text. Here again the verdict must be, "Not proven." With regard to the treatise of Paulinus against Felix being written *some years* before that of Alcuin against Elipandus, according to Madrisius, the editor of Paulinus, who assigns the earliest date to the former work, it was only written four years before the latter; according to Frobenius, the editor of Alcuin, whose chronology is probably right, being based upon evidence supplied by the letters of Alcuin, the former treatise could not have been written more than a year before the latter. In a letter to his friend Arno, written A.D. 800 (the same year in which he published his books against Elipandus), Alcuin speaks as though he had but recently read the treatise of Paulinus against Felix.*

Mr. Ffoulkes' last publication contains another inconsistency. In one part he would modify the charge of fraud originally brought by him against Alcuin and Paulinus, but in another he endeavours to support it by proving them to have been "the joint compilers of a collection of canons replete with forgeries unknown till then, and whose authorship can be traced no further to

* 'Albini Epis.' cviii.; Migne, 'Patrologia,' vol. c. pp. 328, 329.

this day."* His attempt to prove this is of so extraordinary a nature, so entirely unsupported by any real evidence, and at the same time so likely, from the confidence with which it is put forward, to mislead persons who cannot examine the matter for themselves, that it demands very careful consideration. Indeed it is quite a curious feat of literary legerdemain. In order to a clear understanding of the point, a little previous explanation is necessary. In the year 827 Ansegisus, Abbot of Fontanelle, published, in four books, a collection of Capitula, *i. e.* constitutions or canons, whether civil or ecclesiastical, adopted in the reigns of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. As supplementary to this, the collection of 'Benedict the Levite,' in three books, was issued A.D. 847, the compiler's declared object being to supply the omissions of Ansegisus, and to add at the same time such capitula as had been resolved upon since his time. These two collections, when combined into one book, form together the seven books of Capitularies. There are also four other books of Capitula, called 'Additions,' containing much matter which is to be found neither in Ansegisus nor Benedict. That these last are of later date than Benedict's collection there appears to be no doubt; but it is uncertain when exactly they were compiled, and by whom. Our present concern is with the fourth of these so-called 'Additions.' It is admitted on all hands to be replete with forgeries, and

* 'Athanasian Creed Reconsidered,' p. 65.

to be intimately connected with the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, so much so that Hinschius, the recent editor of the Decretals, gives it as his opinion that it proceeded from the same hand as those Decretals, though he does not venture to speak with certainty upon the point. That this book is in any way traceable to Alcuin and Paulinus never seems to have occurred to any of the learned men who have made the literature of the ninth century their study. It was reserved for Mr. Ffoulkes to make the discovery that it was compiled by them.

The following is the process by which he endeavours to make good his position: First, he assumes that the 'Additions' constitute the Appendix to the third book of Benedict.* But where is the authority for regarding them as the Appendix to Benedict's books at all? Is there any ground for supposing that they were regarded and described by him as such? They have indeed been ascribed by some persons to Benedict as their compiler, but on most uncertain grounds. By whom they were drawn up is, in fact, entirely matter of conjecture; and they vary so much one from another in character as to render it probable that they are the work of different hands. The first book consists of the Capitulare, drawn up at Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 817, and relates to the discipline of monks; the second is from the representation addressed to the Emperor by the bishops assembled at

* 'Athanasian Creed Reconsidered,' p. 61.

Worms, A.D. 829; the fourth is pronounced positively by the brothers Ballerini not to have been composed by Benedict; and we have already noticed to whom it is assigned by Hinschius. It is discriminated, both from the third addition and from the work of Benedict, by the fact that it cites (which they do not) the pseudo-Decretals, with express mention of the popes to whom they are attributed—a proof that it was either compiled after the publication of the pseudo-Decretals (and this is the opinion of the Ballerini),* or was the work of the pseudo-Isidore himself, or of some one who had access to his materials. In fact, the 'Additions' do not appear to have any nearer connection with the work of Benedict than with those of Ansegisus. Of sixteen manuscripts of the former mentioned by Pertz not one contains all four additions; six only contain three of them; and in eight only the fourth is found; four give but one of the additions; and from one they are entirely absent.† On the other hand, according to Baluze,‡ in some of the oldest manuscripts, which contain no part of Benedict's work, the four additions are found subjoined to the four books of Ansegisus. He also states, that in two manuscripts the first addition is arranged as forming part of the third book of Benedict; but he is positive that it was not so incorporated during

* 'Dissertatio de Antiquis Collectionibus Canonum,' iv. 9. 4.

† Pertz Monitum in Migne's 'Patrologia,' vol. xcvii. pp. 698, 699.

‡ Præfatio, 48, in Migne's 'Patrologia,' vol. xcvii. p. 93.

Benedict's lifetime, and properly should not be included in his collection. Thus there appears to be no authority for regarding the 'Additions' as the appendix to Benedict's books. And it is an entirely groundless assumption, that they are the appendix to his third book; but the assumption was necessary to Mr. Ffoulkes' argument. Proceeding upon this hypothesis, he next assumes that Benedict, in that part of the preface to his collection which is descriptive of his third book, is referring to the 'Additions.' But this is another groundless assumption. Baluze says that Benedict's preface makes no mention of the 'Additions,'* and that he is right in so saying must be obvious to every unbiassed mind. For proof of this let me refer to my Appendix (Note A), where I have given so much of Benedict's preface as is material, together with the verses at its commencement, which supply the key to its scope and meaning. The next step is the most remarkable of all.

In the sentence descriptive of his third book Benedict states, that after the numbered list of the chapters, meaning the titles of the chapters (which is omitted in Migne for the sake of brevity, as the editor explains in a note, and possibly Mr. Ffoulkes may have been misled by overlooking the circumstance), "are inserted certain chapters gathered from various quarters" (this I venture to think a more correct translation of the words 'sparsim collecta' than Mr. Ffoulkes' 'loosely thrown

* Baluzii Præfatio, 48, in Migne's 'Patrologia,' xcvii. p. 93.

together') "out of canons by Bishop Paulinus and Master Alcuin and other masters at the command of the most mighty Prince Charles." And then he goes on to describe the remaining contents of the book. Here a difficulty plainly presented itself to Mr. Ffoulkes. According to his hypothesis, that Benedict is here describing the additions, the commencement of the sentence relating to the chapters collected by Alcuin and Paulinus would necessarily refer to the first addition, which is certainly not a forgery, being, as has been already mentioned, nothing but the Capitulary drawn up at Aix, A.D. 817. This clearly would not serve the purpose. The fourth addition must be traced to Alcuin and Paulinus; and Mr. Ffoulkes is equal to the occasion. Nothing baffled, he surmounts the difficulty by a device of singular ingenuity, if not dexterity. He divides the sentence into four sections; one for each addition, and numbers them. He then shuffles them together, and deals them out as he lists, the result being that he traces in his own section No. 2 the description of the first addition; in his own section No. 4 the description of the second addition; in his own section No. 3 the description of the third addition; and lastly, in his own section No. 1 the description of the fourth addition. Thus he arrives at his conclusion, that what is always called the fourth addition is represented by Benedict as the first, and represented by Benedict as consisting of "extracts from the canons collected by Paulinus, Alcuin,

and others by command of Charlemagne," though Benedict makes not the slightest reference to the fourth or to any of the additions. And this novel arrangement of these books, so entirely original, and unsupported by any authority of MSS. or editors, he declares to be their proper order, implying not obscurely that the learned Baluze was in error in not following it. To make the matter intelligible, it is necessary to give the sentence from Benedict's preface as translated by Mr. Ffoulkes, with the numbers introduced to mark his sections, and as punctuated by him: "Then in the third book, after its own proper number of chapters, are inserted (1) certain chapters from the canons collected by Bishop Paulinus and Master Alcuin and other masters by command of the most puissant Prince Charles, loosely thrown together; then at no great interval (2) others bearing upon the monastic rule; next (3) those composed for the well-being of the holy Church of God and her ministers; and (4) of the whole Christian people, as they are contained in the same book." * Lastly, Mr. Ffoulkes quotes the heading or title of the fourth addition in further proof of its being the work of Alcuin and Paulinus, composed by command of Charlemagne: "The following chapters we have caused to be collected from the decrees of the holy fathers and edicts of emperors, and bade our Chancellor Erchembald to insert amongst our own capitularies, to

* 'Athanasian Creed Reconsidered,' p. 61.

be by general agreement observed as having full legal force." And he represents Charlemagne as saying this; but there is no mention of Charlemagne. The Ballerini* assert that there were two Erchembalds, and both of them Chancellors, one under Charlemagne, the other under Lothaire I., and that the latter is the person here referred to. If this is the case, this heading of the fourth addition, supposing it to be authentic, proves nothing to the point. But in all probability it is spurious, and undeserving of credit. Hinschius believes it to be so,† and that it was written with the object of giving the book the appearance of being sanctioned by imperial authority. It refers, he says, to the pseudo-decretals; for it speaks of the materials of the books as being collected "ex sanctorum patrum decretis." Had Mr. Ffoulkes examined the heading of Benedict's third book, which gives a description of that book, perfectly agreeing with the description of it in Benedict's preface, he would have been less likely to be misled by the heading of the fourth addition: "Nonnulla hæc capitula

* 'Dissertatio' iv. 9. 4. in Galland's 'Sylloge.' There can be little doubt that the Ballerini were right in this statement. The same is asserted by Baluze, who may indeed have been their authority: "Alius istius nominis Cancellarius fuit in palatio Lotharii Imperatoris, ut patet ex præcepto ejus apud Doubletum in antiquitatibus monasterii sancti Dionysii, page 775, et ex duobus præceptis ejusdem Lotharii pro Agilmaro Archiepiscopo Viennensi, quæ leguntur in chartulario Ecclesiæ Viennensis." Capitularia Regum Francorum, Baluzii Notæ, tom. ii. pp. 1247, 1248, edit. 1677.

† 'Commentatio de Collectione Decretalium,' pp. 161-2.

pro brevitate libri canonum atque levitate a domno Karolo et a suis sapientissimis episcopis excerpta sunt." So runs the heading of Benedict's third book. We have now seen by what a maze of groundless assumption and inconsecutive reasoning Mr. Ffoulkes endeavours to bring home to two men of honoured memories the composition of a spurious document, and in some degree to father upon them the pseudo-Isidorian forgeries.*

Mr. Ffoulkes adduces two other collections in support of his position, that there was a band of forgers among the divines of Charlemagne; viz., the Capitula Angilramni and some canons ascribed to Remedius Curiensis.† The connection of Angilramn, who was Archbishop of Metz and Arch-Chaplain of Charlemagne, with the Capitulare bearing his name, rests upon the heading or title of the collection. "These chapters have been collected from various quarters, from Greek and Latin canons and Roman synods, and decrees of Roman prelates and princes, and were delivered to Angilramn, Bishop of the city of Metz, at Rome, by the blessed Hadrian, on the thirteenth day of the kalends of October, the ninth indiction, *when the action in which he was put upon his trial was going on.*" So, relying upon the authority of Hinschius, I make bold to translate the words "quando pro sui negotii causa agebatur," notwithstanding Mr.

* 'Athanasian Creed Reconsidered,' p. 64.

† Ibid, pp. 60, 63, 64.

Ffoulkes' dictum, that they *undoubtedly mean* "while negotiating this at Rome." It might be asked, "Negotiating what?" This is by no means clear in the above sentence, which is a literal translation of the original as given by Hinschius from one of the best manuscripts. Mr. Ffoulkes states that the greater number of MSS. represent Angilramn as delivering the collection *to* the Pope. But here he is certainly in error, if at least Hinschius, a reliable authority, is right in asserting, that while only eight MSS. describe the collection as made by Angilramn, and presented to Pope Hadrian, in thirty-three, and those the most ancient, it is described as given by the latter to the former. This is a venial error; but what excuse can be found for his saying, in pages 63 and 64, in concluding this branch of his subject, that Hincmar attributes the collection to Angilramn, when in page 60 he says, and says truly, that according to Hincmar it was presented to Angilramn by the Pope? Indeed, not only does Hincmar state this, but he also states that the collection was made by Hadrian. And if according to the great majority of the MSS., and the best of them, and also according to Hincmar, the collection was given by Hadrian to Angilramn, and not the reverse, we cannot be justified in assigning its compilation to Angilramn. It might have been Hadrian's work, as some have thought it to be, but could not have been Angilramn's; so that for Mr. Ffoulkes to adduce this collection in support of his case is simply irrelevant,

even supposing the title or heading to be authentic. This, however, does not appear to be the case. Among the learned there are none who have investigated the subject more deeply, none perhaps so deeply, as Hinschius and Blascus, both of whom regard the whole document, the heading as well as the collection itself, as spurious. The transaction related as happening at Rome is in their judgment wholly fictitious. It is most improbable, says the one, that when Angilramn was on his trial at Rome the Pope should have presented him with a body of canons compiled by himself; and the reverse account, which appears in a few MSS., is equally improbable according to the other; viz., that Angilramn, being at Rome for the purpose thus described, should have given to the Pope, who was a very learned man, such a medley of badly-arranged and unauthorized enactments as these "Capitula Angilramni." There is no contemporaneous record that Angilramn ever visited Rome; none of any difference which he had at any time with the Pope, from whom he received the Pallium; none of any collection of canons being composed by Hadrian, nor yet by Angilramn. If this collection saw the light in 785, as represented in the title, how was it that no mention of it was made till ninety, or nearly ninety years after, when the dispute broke out between Hincmar of Rheims and his nephew and namesake of Laon? And it must be observed that Hincmar, in his notice of these so-called chapters of Angilramn, speaks as from hearsay

only, not from his own certain knowledge. They "*are said* to have been collected by Pope Adrian, and given to Engelramn, Bishop of the people of Metz;"* and, so far from attaching any weight or authority to them, as he would have done had he believed in their genuineness, he describes them as inconsistent one with another, differing from the sacred canons, and in some respects disagreeing with ecclesiastical judgments. Both, then, of the above-named authorities, as well as other learned men, agree in the opinion that this collection was composed neither by Hadrian nor Angilramn; and they consider the title or heading a mere forgery, framed, like that of the fourth addition, for the purpose of investing the document with an air of authority and dignity. Hinschius thinks that this, as well as the fourth addition, was the work of pseudo-Isidore, though in neither case is he able to produce any plain proof in support of his opinion, and he believes it to have been compiled between A.D. 847 and A.D. 853, many years therefore after the death of Angilramn. Blascus is of opinion that it was not composed till shortly before 875, and that it was composed with the object of bolstering up the pseudo-decretals; because Hincmar, when they were quoted in the cause of Rothadus of Soissons, had taken exception to them as not being in the code of canons given by Hadrian to Charlemagne. The two differ somewhat in their views of the relation of this collection

* 'Hincmari Opus.' 24, Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. cxxvi. p. 377.

with the pseudo-decretals—the one holding that it was one of the sources which supplied the materials for their composition; the other, that it was drawn from them.* Charlemagne stated at the Council of Frankfort that he had received Hadrian's permission to have Angilramn constantly resident at the court, "Propter utilitates ecclesiasticas." Mr. Ffoulkes discovers some mysterious significance in the expression; but the meaning is plain and simple enough; viz., that Angilramn had been allowed to absent himself from his diocese in order to discharge the duties of Royal Chaplain at the court; and Angilramn having died A.D. 791, Charlemagne requested the consent of the Council to a similar license of non-residence in the case of his successor, Bishop Hildebold. One point only remains to be noticed in regard to these Capitula of Angilramn. Mr. Ffoulkes twice asserts† that Charlemagne grounded his decision in the dispute between Theodulph and Alcuin upon the forty-third of their number, "thus establishing his own connection with them as clear as day." Considering the matter to be so very clear, I was not a little surprised, on turning to the letter of Charlemagne, to find no mention whatever of these Capitula. His words are: "It is absolutely forbidden, both by divine and human

* 'Hinschius, Commentatio de Collectione Decretalium,' pp. clxvii. to clxxxii.; 'Blascus, Diatriba de Capitulis Hadriano Papæ vulgo tributis,' in 'Gallandii Sylloge.'

† 'Athanasian Creed Reconsidered,' pp. 60 and 71.

law, that a criminal should bring an accusation against another person." On what, then, does Mr. Ffoulkes base his assertion? His eye appears to have lighted on a note by Baluze on this passage, which is found in Migne, referring to the 43rd chapter of 'Angilramn;' also to one in the fifth book of Capitularies, or the first of Benedict; and another in the seventh book of Capitularies, or the third of Benedict. Baluze may very possibly have thought this chapter of the collection of Angilramn was Charlemagne's authority for his statement, for he attributed the collection to Angilramn: he could not have intended that Charlemagne had in his mind the books of Benedict, knowing as he did that they were composed many years after this letter of Charlemagne's was written. But, as we have seen, there are conclusive reasons for believing that Angilramn had no hand in drawing up the collection which bears his name; and this note by Baluze can afford but slender ground for implicating Charlemagne in its fabrication or publication. To any one who will compare the chapter in Angilramn (it is the 40th in Hinschius' edition) with the corresponding chapters in Benedict, it will appear far more probable that the former was derived from the latter, according to the view of Hinschius and Blascus, than that the reverse should have been the case, as Baluze seems to think.

Mr. Ffoulkes is equally unfortunate in his other instance, cited for the purpose of tracing the authorship

of spurious collections of canons to Charlemagne's divines. As to the spuriousness of the collection attributed to Remedius, or Remigius, Bishop of Curia, the modern Chur, or Coire, in Switzerland, there can be no question, the forty-nine canons of which it is composed being simply taken from the pseudo-Isidorian pontifical Epistles. In this, as in the previous case, the proof of authorship rests entirely upon the heading or title—"Canons of the ancient German Church, extracted by Remedius, Bishop of Curia, from pontifical Epistles in accordance with the command of Charles the Great, King of the Franks and Germans." Mr. Ffoulkes relies upon this as conclusive evidence in support of his case. But upon examination this title appears to be a simple forgery, and the statement which it contains is obviously false. If the pseudo-pontifical Epistles were not in existence in the time of Charlemagne, as confessedly they were not, how could these canons have been extracted from them by his command? And this is not all; for, supposing this description of the canons to be authentic, it would prove them to have been drawn up previous to Charlemagne's coronation as emperor, A.D. 800; after which he would not have been described as King of the Franks. This makes the falsity of the statement still more glaring. Besides, Remedius, who is here said to have extracted his canons from the epistles of the pontiffs, and whose canons are really derived from the forged epistles in

the pseudo-decretals, must have been dead long before the publication of the latter documents, if we are to follow the best authorities upon the subject. According to the Ballerini brothers, the pseudo-decretals were published about A.D. 845. Hinschius, after a careful examination of the question, arrives at the conclusion that they were not completed till about 851 or 852. But it is by no means probable that Remedius' life was prolonged beyond 820 at the latest, considering that he was the friend and correspondent of Alcuin, who died an old man in the year 804, and is addressed by Alcuin as an old friend and Bishop of Curia. The Ballerini are led by these difficulties to pronounce the title clearly erroneous, and to suggest that Charles the Fat may have been intended and not Charlemagne. The Remedius, who is the reputed compiler of these canons, must have belonged, they say, to a later age.* Obviously no credit can be attached to the title. Remedius appears in Mr. Ffoulkes' pages as Bishop of *Covie*, which must be a misprint. Similarly we find *Antocar* twice for Autcar, or Otcar, or, as he is described by Benedict the Levite, Autgarius; and *Angesis* for Ansegis, or Ansegisus.

2. The examination of the instances adduced by Mr. Ffoulkes in corroboration of the charge brought by him against Alcuin and Paulinus has necessarily occupied

* 'Dissert.' iii. 6. 4; Galland's 'Sylloge.'

us so long that we have almost lost sight of the main argument. Charlemagne is represented as the chief author and perpetrator of the supposed forgery. The two divines were but the subordinates and agents of their imperial master. Was he a person likely to do what he is accused of doing? Have any probable reasons been alleged to account for his taking the part in the transaction assigned to him? This must be our next enquiry. The case against Charlemagne would have been incomplete without the imputation of adequate motives for the crime laid to his charge. His conduct, according to Mr. Ffoulkes, was the result of a deep-laid and deliberate scheme. "He wanted to found a second Roman empire upon a durable basis," and he found that to effect this it would be necessary to detach the West from all dependence on the East by raising up the barrier of a distinctive and discordant theology. The confession of faith put into his hands by Paulinus as maintaining the Latin doctrine of the Procession seemed to be exactly suited to his requirements. Let this be published to the world as the veritable work of the great Athanasius; it would go far to justify the Western addition of the Filioque to the Creed of Constantinople, and the Latins would thus be armed with a new weapon of controversy, which might be wielded with telling effect against the Greeks, as being apparently drawn from the storehouse of Greek theology, and stamped with an authority which Greeks could not

but revere. Let this new Creed be accepted by the West, Eastern and Western Christendom would then be divided by antagonistic creeds; for in Mr. Ffoulkes' view the Athanasian Creed is actually antagonistic to that of Constantinople in its original form.* Such is Mr. Ffoulkes' hypothesis. It certainly possesses the merit of boldness, but unfortunately it is open to the fatal objection of not being founded upon fact,—indeed of being irreconcilable with fact. It is a most improbable fiction. History informs us that at the very time when, if we are to believe Mr. Ffoulkes, Charlemagne was engaged in this plan for dividing Christendom, and building up a Western Empire upon the basis of a new and antagonistic Creed, he was actually endeavouring to enter into the closest relations of peace and amity with the East, and even to combine into one the Eastern and Western empires, by forming a matrimonial alliance with the Greek Empress. This is plain from a comparison of dates. In October, A.D. 802, a Synod or Convention was held by Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle, when a Capitulum is said to have been adopted requiring all ecclesiastics to learn "the Catholic Faith of Saint Athanasius." Thus, according to Mr. Ffoulkes' theory, did Charlemagne bring to a consummation the plan which he had designed with full deliberation. In the same month of the same year we read of the presence

* See 'The Athanasian Creed: by whom written and by whom published,' pp. 251–254, 351, 355, and 359.

of Charlemagne's ambassadors at Constantinople, whither they had come with proposals from their sovereign for the hand of the Empress of the East. The negociations, we are told, met with a favourable reception from Irene; but on the last day of the same month they were effectually terminated by the revolution, which first dethroned her, and ultimately drove her into exile. The Western ambassadors did not return home until the following year, and it is quite impossible that Charlemagne could have heard the result of their mission till some time after the conclusion of the Synod of Aix.* And during the remainder of his life Charlemagne showed a desire to maintain friendly relations with the Greeks. Indeed this was his policy and interest; for he had enough to do at home in holding together his huge empire, which was composed of most heterogeneous elements, and was already manifesting symptoms of internal disorganization, and in protecting his extensive seaboard against the dreaded incursions of the Normans and the Moors. Eginhard says of him, that in order to remove all occasion of offence he formed the closest alliance with the Emperors of Constantinople—Nicephorus, Michael, and Leo—who voluntarily sought his friendship and alliance, though his assumption of the imperial title caused them to suspect him of a desire to deprive them of their empire; also, that under the terms of a treaty he gave up to the Eastern Emperor some cities on the west of

* 'Baronii Annales,' an. 802, and 'Pagii Critica,' an. 802, i. ii.

the Adriatic.* On this point, however, Charlemagne speaks to us for himself. A letter is extant, addressed by him (A.D. 810) to Nicephorus, who had succeeded Irene in the Eastern Empire. It expresses the gratification with which he had received an ambassador from the Eastern Emperor (whom he addresses by the title of brother), his desire for peace, and his intention to send ambassadors to Constantinople with the least possible delay, for the purpose of concluding a treaty. Accordingly a legation was sent to Constantinople in the following year, but before its arrival Nicephorus had been killed in battle. We have another letter, written by him on a similar occasion, and for a similar purpose, to Nicephorus' successor, Michael. In this he gives utterance to his hearty feelings of thankfulness, in that God of His abundant goodness had thought fit to establish in his days "the long-sought and ever-desired peace between the Eastern and Western Empires," and "to unite and pacify His catholic, holy, and immaculate Church, which is diffused throughout the whole world."† Thus wrote the man whose wish and design it was, according to Mr. Ffoulkes, to create a religious division between Eastern and Western Christendom.

Enough has been said to show the extreme improbability of Mr. Ffoulkes' hypothesis as regards the part

* 'Caroli Magni Vita,' 15, 16, in Migne's 'Patrologia,' tom. xcvii.

† Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. xcvii. pp. 929-932.

assigned in it to Charlemagne. But we have not yet done with the antecedent difficulties which it presents. He says: "This effect (the effect, viz., of setting up a fictitious antiquity for Latin doctrine, attributed by him to the Athanasian Creed) was deliberately planned by Charlemagne, and planned for a twofold purpose: first, to justify the interpolated Creed to the Pope, and convict the Greeks of error in rejecting it; and, secondly, to substitute 'the Catholic Faith of St. Athanasius' in the West as a standard of orthodoxy for that of Nicæa."*

Here are two points which require consideration in succession. Mr. Ffoulkes paints the moral character of Charlemagne in the blackest possible colours; and indeed, with the evidence supplied by Eginhard, his biographer and friend and admirer, and by Walafrid Strabo, a contemporary,† it is impossible to deny that his life was stained by gross immorality, though to accuse him of being as lax in practice as Henry VIII. on divorce and marriage is an exaggeration. But whatever may have been his moral character, he certainly could have been no fool. Mr. Ffoulkes allows him to have been "great in intellect and great in arms." He must have been an able and, for his age, an enlightened statesman; he must have had a wide experience of the world, and possessed a considerable knowledge of men, as well as skill in influencing and ruling them;

* 'Athanasian Creed: by whom written,' etc. p. 251.

† See Appendix, Note B.

he was thoroughly conversant with Church questions, and sought to promote the well-being of the Church, probably because he had the sagacity to perceive in its organization, and teaching, and discipline, the most powerful instruments for advancing order and civilization; he was the patron of learned men, and encouraged the cultivation of learning and literature. This was not the man to have recourse to a transparent literary fraud which could never deceive the world. Such means, no doubt, have been adopted by short-sighted men—men devoid of any knowledge of human nature—with the view of doing God service; but these are not the weapons which a sagacious man of the world, a statesman, would choose for gaining a political object. Least of all would Charlemagne have adopted the extraordinary scheme imputed to him, with the view of imposing upon a person who was one of the most unlikely men in the world to be taken in by the imposture. Assuming for an instant the truth of Mr. Ffoulkes' theory—the Pope, on hearing that a Creed, composed by the illustrious Athanasius, which had never before been heard of, had been recently discovered, and published to the world by no less than Imperial authority, would naturally have made some inquiries respecting such a very remarkable circumstance—how and where this important document had been discovered? and how was it attested and authenticated? Being in frequent communication with France and

Germany, he would have addressed himself to the divines and ecclesiastics of those countries, who were the best qualified to supply the desired information; and it would have been strange indeed if the great secret of the true authorship of the new-found Creed had not, sooner or later, been whispered into his ear, being told, like all great secrets, by one to another in strict confidence. All this would have suggested itself to the mind of Charlemagne; so that when Mr. Ffoulkes informs us that it was one of the special purposes, with which the transaction was planned, to deceive the Pope, he is only investing his story with an additional proof of its exceeding improbability. Besides, Charlemagne would have had no occasion to resort to a literary artifice for winning over the Pope to his side, nor any reason to apprehend the slightest opposition on the part of Leo III. in any scheme of political ambition which might bring him into collision with the Greeks. Leo III. was really his subject, and completely in his power; bound to him, moreover, by the greatest personal obligations. But for the interposition of Charlemagne, he would probably have remained an exile from the Papal city; but for that protection, he could not have lived there a single day in security. On St. Mark's Day, A.D. 799, while conducting the procession of the great litanies at the head of his clergy, he was violently assaulted by a numerous band of conspirators, headed by some relations and adherents of his predecessor,

Adrian I. His life was spared, but he was cast into prison, from which, by the aid of some friends, he effected a stealthy escape by night. In his distress he betook himself to the court of Charles, at that time in Germany, where he was received with the utmost deference. The aid that he stood in need of was granted. He returned to Italy, attended by an escort of bishops and counts, who obtained for him a respectful, if not honourable, reception from the Romans. But the dissensions in Rome were evidently too serious to be settled without the personal interposition of the sovereign; and late in the next year Charles himself arrived at the head of a powerful army. On an appointed day, in the presence of the king and the assembled bishops and princes, the Pope, standing in the pulpit of St. Peter's, solemnly exculpated himself by oath upon the Gospels of the crimes laid to his charge, which are said to have been adultery and perjury. The authors of the accusation were afterwards condemned to death by the king; but upon the intercession of the Pope the sentence was commuted, and they were banished for ever from Rome. Charlemagne wrought a great deliverance for Adrian I. by destroying the power of the Lombards in Italy; but he wrought a greater deliverance for Leo III. by crushing Leo's domestic foes, and Leo manifested his gratitude to his deliverer by crowning him emperor on Christmas Day. After this, Charlemagne would have had no fear of Leo siding with

the Greeks against him. But further, it must be borne in mind, that according to Mr. Ffoulkes the Athanasian Creed was published by Charlemagne, A.D. 802, in a synod held at Aix-la-Chapelle. In the year 809, another synod was held at the same place under the presidency of the emperor; and it resulted in a commission or deputation, consisting of the Bishop of Worms and the Abbot of Corbey, being sent to the Pope with a letter from Charlemagne himself respecting the Procession of the Holy Spirit, which was the special subject of the deliberations of this synod. Charlemagne's letter has been preserved, as well as a narrative of the interview of his commissioners with the Pope, at which the practice already adopted in France of singing the Creed with the addition of the Filioque came under discussion.* It is very remarkable that in neither of these documents does the slightest allusion to the Athanasian Creed occur. If it is true that Charlemagne forged the Athanasian Creed with the purpose of justifying the interpolated Creed (*i.e.* the Filioque) to the Pope, and convicting the Greeks of error in rejecting it, how was it that he omitted to press it upon the Pope's attention on this occasion, when it might have been adduced with peculiar relevancy? How was it that, while quoting to the Pope various authorities in support of the double Procession, and among them that of Athanasius, he

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. xcviii. pp. 923-929, and 'Baronii Annales,' an. 809.

omitted to quote the document which he had himself invested with the fictitious authority of Athanasius, on purpose to impose upon the very person whom he was addressing? How was it that his commissioners omitted to defend the practice of reciting the Filioque in the Nicene, or rather Constantinopolitan, Creed in use in the Imperial Chapel, and other Churches of Gaul and Germany, by an appeal to an authority to which their master attached the greatest importance? This omission admits of but one explanation confirming us in regarding Mr. Ffoulkes' hypothesis with the utmost distrust, even before considering any actual evidence alleged in its support. It must have been a consciousness of the extreme weakness of this part of his case which induced Mr. Ffoulkes to make the assertion, for which he has not a shadow of proof, that Charlemagne *instructed* the monks of mount Olivet to defend themselves to the Pope for singing the Filioque by referring to the Athanasian Creed.*

Mr. Ffoulkes tells us that Charlemagne's purpose was, secondly, to substitute the "Catholic faith of St. Athanasius," as a standard of orthodoxy in the West, for the Creed of Nicæa, meaning evidently the Creed of Constantinople; for he shares in the confusion commonly made between the two Creeds, regarding them as one instead of two distinct, though harmonious, Creeds—a confusion attributable mainly no doubt to

* 'The Athanasian Creed,' pp. 245, 267.

the Constantinopolitan being termed the Nicene Creed in the Prayer-book. If such was the intention of Charlemagne, it is very strange that he never carried it into effect. The fact of his not having carried this purpose into effect is sufficient proof of his never having seriously entertained it; for he ruled over the Church within his realms with a power not inferior to that exercised by the most absolute of our sovereigns over the Church of England by virtue of the Royal Supremacy. The empire of Charlemagne presents probably the most complete type to be found in history of the union of Church and State. It is the realization of Hooker's ideal. That Charlemagne did not substitute the Athanasian Creed for that of Nice, or rather of Constantinople, is historically certain. From the narrative of the interview of his commissioners with Leo III., it is apparent that the last-named Creed used to be sung at mass in the Emperor's Chapel and the Churches of the Franks in the year 809, seven years after the occasion when, according to Mr. Ffoulkes, the Athanasian Creed had been substituted for it as a standard of orthodoxy. Another testimony to the observance of this custom in the Palatial Chapel is found in the representation of the monks of mount Olivet at Jerusalem, addressed to the Pope, in which they referred to that custom in justification of their own practice. "We have heard," were their words, "that in his (*i. e.* Charles') Chapel it is said in the

symbol of the Faith, 'Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son.'" Walafrid Strabo, a contemporary writer, and a competent witness as regards the ecclesiastical usages prevalent in Charlemagne's dominions (for he was originally a monk of Fulda, and pupil of Rabanus Maurus, then became Dean of St. Gall, and A.D. 840 was promoted to the Abbacy of Reichenau, which he held till his death, A.D. 849), says that "among the Gauls and Germans, after the deposition of the heretic Felix, who was condemned in the time of the illustrious Charles, Sovereign of the Franks, the same symbol (viz., the Creed of Constantinople, which he clearly and expressly discriminates from that of Nice) began to be more extensively and frequently recited in the office of the mass."* So far, then, from the Constantinopolitan Creed being degraded, or thrust into obscurity by Charlemagne, so far from his indicating the slightest desire to remove it from the position of authority, which, conjointly with the Creed of Nice, it had hitherto occupied in the esteem of Christendom; on the contrary, we learn upon unquestionable testimony that under his immediate cognizance, and necessarily with his sanction, it became more generally than before associated with the highest act of Christian worship. Mr. Ffoulkes says that Charlemagne adopted "the faith of St. Athanasius" in the place of the Nicene Creed

* De Eccles. rerum incrementis, cap. xxii.; Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. cxiv. p. 947.

as his standard of orthodoxy by commanding, in the Capitulare of Aix, A.D. 802, that all ecclesiastics should learn it.* We shall see by-and-by that after all it is extremely doubtful whether this injunction was really issued by this synod of Aix. If it was not, the ground on which Mr. Ffoulkes rests his position is cut from under his feet, according to his own acknowledgment; for he admits that no other council held by Charlemagne subsequently made mention of the Athanasian Creed.† But supposing it to be genuine, clearly it cannot justify Mr. Ffoulkes' inference. Hatto, or Heito, or Ahyto, ordered in his Capitulare that the Athanasian Creed should be learnt by heart by priests. Theodulph, Bishop of Orleans, did the same; and at a later period Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, issued a similar direction; but we should not be warranted in concluding from thence that these Bishops intended to substitute the Athanasian Creed for that of Nice or Constantinople, as the standard of orthodoxy for their respective dioceses. It is remarkable, no doubt, that they should have omitted to make any similar injunction in regard to the Creed of Nice or Constantinople; but the account of this is very simple; viz., that there was no occasion for such an injunction in regard to the Creed, which, being said at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, priests were unavoidably familiar with, and were obliged to recite. And this observation applies

* 'Athanasian Creed,' p. 275. † Ibid, p. 237, note.

to the Capitulare of Charlemagne at Aix, if it is rightly credited with the order in question.

But Mr. Ffoulkes tells us that we may dismiss from our minds the notion that there is anything extraordinary or improbable in the fraudulent conduct imputed by him to Charlemagne in reference to the Athanasian Creed, for he has detected him in practising a similar trick with another confession of faith. This imaginary discovery he dwells upon as most apposite and important. Had he discovered a new world or a new planet, he could not have announced the fact in a tone of more triumphant exultation. As he seeks to justify his charge against the divines of Charlemagne, by bringing home to them the authorship of spurious collections of canons, so he would support his charge against Charlemagne himself, by showing that the Athanasian Creed was not the first Creed published to the world by that great man knowingly and deliberately under a false title. In the latter, as in the former instance, he fails to prove his parallel.

The case is best stated in the words of its author: "At the head of the third of the Caroline books, which some say Alcuin *wrote*, but Charlemagne certainly *published*—the distinction cannot be denied in this case—there stands a lengthy profession of faith, commencing with the doctrine of the Trinity, and ending with those of infant baptism and free-will. Of this Charlemagne testifies in conclusion as follows: 'Such

is the Catholic tradition of the faith in its true entirety, which we believe and confess with a sincere heart; and which, expressed in the words of St. Jerome, we have appraised' (this is Mr. Ffoulkes' translation, it must be remembered) 'in this work. This is the true faith; this confession we maintain and hold; this whoso will keep whole and undefiled will have eternal salvation.' Whose profession was this?" Mr. Ffoulkes continues, "Charlemagne, as far as I can discover, was the first to publish it to the world as St. Jerome's, or as a true expression of the Catholic faith. . . . There is conclusive proof whose it was. It is no other than the profession of Pelagius the heretic, with all the equivocal expressions in it which St. Augustine pointed out at the time, and condemned, on the subject of infant baptism and free-will, word for word as he penned it, with two exceptions; the word ὁμοούσιος, whether by design or accident, having been omitted from it, and the 'Filioque' clause inserted."* Further on he reverts to the subject, "Now, had Charlemagne never done anything of this kind before" (referring, *i.e.* to the supposed publication by Charlemagne of the Athanasian Creed as the work of St. Athanasius, though he knew it to have been compiled by Paulinus) "there might be less ground than there is for charging him with premeditation in what he certainly did by this Creed. But upwards of seven years before we have found him

* 'Athanasian Creed Reconsidered,' pp. 66, 67.

at Frankfort, in a work deliberately written against the seventh general council, pompously and deliberately putting forward, as the 'faith of St. Jerome' and as a perfect *résumé* of 'the Catholic faith,' a document which now turns out, on the showing of S. Augustine, to have been the Creed of Pelagius, tinged with that heresy; but interpolated, for all that appears to the contrary, by himself or his advisers, *pro hâc vice*, to suit their views. Here, then, there is no room for conjecture. My opponents probably never dreamt of my having such a pendant to the Athanasian Creed in reserve. . . . Within seven years, I say, or more, Charlemagne put forth two Creeds, and each time in controversy with the Greek Church; one, which he called 'the faith of St. Jerome,' a doctor of the Western Church; the other, which he called 'the faith of St. Athanasius," a doctor of the Eastern; and both emphatically 'the Catholic faith.'"*

It is impossible to admit the accuracy of these statements. Any person who took them without examination would naturally suppose that this Creed, as it appears in the Carolinian books, is the same word for word, with the exception of two particulars, with a document declared by St. Augustine to be a Creed drawn up by the heretic Pelagius. What are the facts? St. Augustine† quotes two short passages from the Confession of

* 'Athanasian Creed Reconsidered,' pp. 103, 104.

† 'De Gratia Christi, c. 30, 32, 33, and 'De Peccato Originali,' c. 21.

Faith addressed by Pelagius in his own vindication to the Pope. And inasmuch as these two passages appear in the Creed in question—which in the age of Charlemagne was commonly designated the Creed of St. Jerome, and which was first printed among the works of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, owing no doubt to its having been previously circulated among their works in manuscript—Bellarmine* and Launoy† conclude that it is none other than Pelagius' confession of faith. Their conclusion has been generally accepted. But clearly we should not be justified by the premisses in inferring more than a substantial identity. Launoy, while arguing that this Creed is the work of Pelagius, gives it as his opinion (as to its correctness or otherwise I do not venture to express any judgment) that two passages which it contains were not in it originally, that respecting the confusion of natures having been introduced after the time of Eutyches, and the word 'adoptivus' after the Adoptionist controversy. The conclusion varies as it appears in the works of St. Augustine, and in those of St. Jerome, and in the Carolinian books. To assert, therefore, that this Creed is word for word the same (with two trifling exceptions) with the Creed of Pelagius, and to assert moreover that this is so *upon the showing of St. Augustine,* is a mani-

* 'De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis,' Lugduni, 1613, p. 90.

† 'De auctore vero Professionis Fidei quæ Pelagio Hieronymo et Augustino tribui vulgo solet.' Second edition. Paris 1663, pp. 38-40.

fest exaggeration. Such a verbal identity can really be predicated with certainty of the two brief passages only quoted by St. Augustine, which are the following: "Baptisma unum tenemus, quod iisdem sacramenti verbis in infantibus, quibus etiam in majoribus, dicimus esse celebrandum," and "Liberum sic confitemur arbitrium, ut dicamus nos indigere Dei semper auxilio." When Mr. Ffoulkes charges this Confession of Faith with being *tinged with the heresy of Pelagius*, and containing *all the equivocal expressions* which had been pointed out and condemned by St. Augustine, he appears to forget that, supposing it to be the same as he asserts it to be, word for word with Pelagius' Confession of Faith, it was accepted as satisfactory by the Pope, and that St. Augustine accused Pelagius, not of using heretical language upon this occasion, but of the fraudulent and dishonest use of the language of orthodoxy.

In considering Mr. Ffoulkes' hypothesis respecting this Creed, two preliminary difficulties present themselves, either of which, unless disposed of, must prove fatal to it. The first of these is based upon the view put forward by Launoy, that this Creed was not originally contained in the Carolinian books, but might have been inserted in them after the time of Charlemagne.* This view is grounded upon the supposed improbability that Charlemagne should have inserted the Creed in these books 'de imaginibus,' when he made no mention of it

* 'De auctore vero Professionis Fidei,' etc. cap. iv. pp. 25–29.

in the acts and definitions of the Council of Francfort; upon the fact that it is not quoted by Alcuin nor Agobard, and upon the assumption that the earliest notice of it as the work of St. Jerome is that by Remigius of Lyons, who flourished in the age subsequent to Charlemagne, about A.D. 840. If this be so, of course there is no room for Mr. Ffoulkes' hypothesis. But it is a sufficient answer to Launoy to observe, first, that the preface to the third Carolinian book (the first chapter of which, it must be remembered, consists of the so-called Creed of St. Jerome) expresses an intention of commencing that book with a profession of faith. And, by the way, this preface appears to be the composition of Paulinus, being clearly written in his style. "Ordo exposcit," it says, "ut primum nostræ fidei fundamentum jaciamus." This alone would be adequate proof that the Creed was originally inserted in the book. But further, Launoy was certainly mistaken, as we shall see by-and-by, in thinking that there are no notices of this Creed contemporaneous with Charlemagne, by writers too who must have been known to him. And in regard to no allusion to it being made in the Acts of the Council of Francfort, nor in the Epistle of Charlemagne to Elipandus, nor in those of the Gallic and Italian Bishops to their Spanish brethren, it is obvious to remark that—the document being formally quoted at length, and adopted as the authoritative expression of their faith in the 'Capitulare de Imaginibus,' which is said to

have been drawn up and published at the Council of Francfort, and was sent to the Pope—the Fathers of that Council and Charlemagne might have considered any further allusion to it on their parts superfluous, notwithstanding its apparent relevancy to the Adoptionist heresy. The other difficulty is suggested by a letter in 'The Guardian,' dated May 23, 1872, by a writer signing himself "Edmund S. Ffoulkes." We find therein the following passage: "Now the date of this piece (viz., the very Creed in question) is evidenced by the following alone; viz., its second article: 'Credimus et in D. N. I. C. per quem creata sunt omnia: *verum Deum unigenitum* et *verum Dei filium*, non factum, non *adoptivum*.' This is indubitably a protest against Adoptionism; and, as I pointed out some weeks since, the Commentary on the Athanasian Creed which precedes it contains a similar, though less marked, protest. For these and other reasons, too long to express here, I regard both pieces as products of the ninth century at the earliest." But of course if this Creed was not composed *before the ninth century at the earliest*, it could never have been the work of Pelagius, who flourished at the commencement of the fifth century; nor could it have been published by Charlemagne in the year 794 as the work of St. Jerome. Yet in 'The Athanasian Creed Reconsidered, by the Rev. Edmund S. Ffoulkes, B.D.' published in the very same year, 1872, though towards its conclusion, this same Creed is affirmed to be "no other than

the profession of Pelagius the heretic, . . . word for word as he penned it, with two exceptions," neither of those exceptions being the passage quoted in the letter to 'The Guardian.' I am content to take a middle course between the writer of the letter in 'The Guardian' and the writer of 'The Athanasian Creed Reconsidered,' and to accept as probable the commonly-received opinion that the so-called Creed of St. Jerome is in substance identical with the Confession of Pelagius.

But even if Mr. Ffoulkes could prove that the Creed adopted in the Carolinian books is the same word for word with that of Pelagius, it would not be sufficient for his purpose; nor would it be sufficient if he were to show that the earliest extant mention of this profession of faith, as the work of St. Jerome, is found in these books; because there may have been numerous documents in existence at the time when these books were composed and published, assigning the authorship to that father, which have perished in the vast destruction of manuscripts that has taken place since then. What was needful in order that he might make good his case was to prove that Charlemagne published this Creed as the work of St. Jerome, knowing and believing it all the while to be the work of another person. But this he has not proved; nor can he prove it. The simple and probable account of the matter is, that Charlemagne, or his divines, asserted this Creed to be the composition of St. Jerome, because such was their own belief, and such

the belief of the age when they lived. Garner, in his treatise on the subject,* maintains the improbability of their making this assertion, unless they were able to support it by manuscript authorities reaching up far before their time; otherwise they might have been easily convicted of error. And we are not without proof that they were but giving utterance to the prevalent opinion of their age. In the age immediately succeeding that of Charlemagne, Remigius of Lyons, quoting this Creed, describes it as "fidei ejus" (viz., Jerome), "professio quam plerissime et perfectissime contra quosdam calumniatores ad pontificem sedis apostolicæ in defensionem sui edidit."† True this falls short of the exact period; but in all probability what was the general belief of the age succeeding that of Charlemagne (and this we learn clearly from Remigius) was also the belief of his age. But this is not all. In the Bodleian library at Oxford is a MS. containing *inter alia* a copy of Fortunatus' 'Commentary on the Athanasian Creed,' which the learned librarian assigns to the early part of the ninth century;‡ and this is immediately followed by the Creed of which we are speaking, written§ certainly on the same parchment, and in the same hand, and therefore at the same date, and entitled, 'Fides Catholica Hieronymi.' In the treatise of Alcuin de Processione

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. xlviii. pp. 491-4.

† 'Lib. de Tribus Epistolis,' cap. 39.

‡ 'Heurtley on the Athanasian Creed,' p. 10.

§ Witness, Mr. Ffoulkes; 'Guardian,' May 29th, 1872.

S. Spiritus, this Creed is described as "symbolum quod ipse egregius composuit doctor" (viz., Jerome.)* If this is the genuine work of Alcuin, it must have been written between A.D. 800, when Charlemagne was crowned emperor (for it is dedicated to him as Emperor "Serenissimo Augusto Carolo,") and A.D. 804, the date of Alcuin's death. If not his work, and the authorship is not a matter of certainty, the dedication fixes its date between A.D. 800 and A.D. 814, in the early part of of which year Charlemagne died. Launoy was shown by Sirmond a MS. containing various documents, and among them this Creed, entitled, 'Expositio Fidei sancti Hieronymi.' The MS. was marked as being written when Charlemagne was king, not emperor, *i.e.* before A.D. 800; and evidently in the opinion of Sirmond this was its true date, though Launoy thought it was not written so early. In the prolegomena to the Vienna Psalter—which, from the dedicatory verses on the first folio, appears to have been, or was intended to have been, presented by Charlemagne to Hadrian I., and which has never yet been proved to be of a later date (on the contrary, there is ample authority for assigning it to that date, as will be shown by-and-by)—there are several professions of faith, the first being the Nicene Creed proper, the last this same Creed, with the title, 'Expositio Fidei Catholicæ sōī Hieronymi.' Here we have a clear instance of the Creed being assigned to St.

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. ci. p. 82.

Jerome before the composition of the Carolinian books and the Council of Frankfort; for it is next to certain that the Psalter was, or was designed to be, presented to Hadrian before that council, as he died only the year after it was held—A.D. 795. Lambecius, who is followed by Waterland, says that it was sent to him on his accession to the Papacy—A.D. 772. The same document is also found in the Ambrosian MS. at Milan containing the Athanasian Creed, which is considered by Montfaucon to have been written in the eighth century, and by Muratori still earlier; and in a list of the contents written on the front it is described as "Hieronymi Fides." At the same time no certain argument can be based upon this, the list being written in a different hand, Muratori says, from the body of the manuscript, though an ancient one. Still, it is confirmatory of the other testimonies, which taken together can leave no room for doubt that in the age of Charlemagne the so-called Creed of St. Jerome was commonly believed to have been written by that father. Garner deems it probable that it was inserted among the works of St. Jerome in the sixth, or even at the end of the fifth century, and annexed to the dialogues written by him against the Pelagians, the ground for this conjecture being that the former is mentioned in connection with the latter by Remigius of Lyons. Afterwards, he supposes, when the MS. was copied, the name of Pelagius was omitted through carelessness, and copies being

multiplied in this condition, the profession of faith came in the course of time to be regarded as the work of the father to whose writings it was subjoined.

There are other indications that the writings of Pelagius got somehow mixed up and confounded with the works of St. Jerome at a comparatively early period. At the commencement of the eighth century, as we learn from Bede, the epistle of the former to Demetrias was ascribed by some students to the latter.* Pelagius was the author of some commentaries upon the epistles of St. Paul, which are referred to more than once by St. Augustine and by others. In the opinion of Voss and many learned men, these are identical with those which are attributed to St. Jerome, and appear among his works: so says Cave. Garner thinks that they were purged of Pelagianism by Cassiodorus. At any rate, granted that the Creed was erroneously attributed to St. Jerome, we are not compelled to adopt the hypothesis of a fraudulent conspiracy in order to account for the circumstance—a circumstance which, however remarkable, is far from being without parallel in the history of literature. I submit confidently that Mr. Ffoulkes has entirely failed in his attempt to bring home to Charlemagne in regard to this Creed an act of fraud similar to that with which he charges that great man in regard to the Athanasian Creed.

* Hunc librum nonnulli studiose legentes sancti et catholici doctoris Hieronymi esse temere arbitrantur.—Bede, 'Com. in Cantica.'

3. Next, having regard to the internal evidence supplied by the style and terminology of the Athanasian Creed, it appears in the highest degree improbable that it should have been composed by Paulinus at the conclusion of the eighth century. No two styles can be more different than that of the Creed and that of Paulinus, the former being terse, vigorous, lucid, and logical; the latter inflated and obscure to an excess, labouring on beneath an accumulation of long words and involved sentences, encumbered with a redundance of epithets and a complication of metaphors. This, however, is an argument which cannot be regarded as conclusive, though entitled to some consideration; because in drawing up a dogmatic statement or formulary, a man might depart from his usual style. The terminology of the Creed is a point of far more importance; indeed, it is a point of the greatest importance, and the consideration of it is essential in regard to the question at issue. For a Catholic Creed or formulary necessarily re-echoed and stereotyped the distinctive expressions which were current among Catholics at the time when it was composed, and which were elicited by the emergent controversies or heresies of the age; so that the date of a Creed may be gathered with almost as much certainty from the theological terms which it employs as the date of an old building from the character of its architecture. The two principal subjects of controversy at the conclusion of the eighth century

were Adoptionism and the Procession of the Holy Spirit. Mr. Ffoulkes states that the Athanasian Creed was composed with special reference to the first of these, and that it specifically condemns the heresy of Adoptionism.* Whether in his opinion it was also specially intended to refer to the second subject, he does not clearly say; but it is an essential feature of his theory, that Charlemagne published the Creed as the work of St. Athanasius, "as formally stating the Procession according to the Latin view."† He denounces it "as at once the expression of Latin dogmatism, and the lever of Latin despotism."‡ The point then for consideration is whether the Creed expresses itself on these two subjects in a clear, distinct, emphatic manner; whether it makes use of those critical terms which would prove it to be the product of the age to which Mr. Ffoulkes assigns it.

Professor Heurtley has stated the case in regard to Adoptionism so fully and lucidly that I cannot do better than quote his words:§ "The Adoptionist heresy during the last twelve or fifteen years of the eighth century occupied the foremost place in the attention of the theologians of Charlemagne's dominions (not to speak of Charlemagne himself), and very especially the attention of Alcuin and Paulinus. . . . . The heresy of Adoptionism was, as Mr. Ffoulkes has observed, a rude

* 'Athanasian Creed,' p. 271. † Ibid, p. 253. ‡ Ibid, p. 275.
§ 'Reasons for Rejecting Mr. Ffoulkes' Theory,' pp. 4 to 9.

reproduction of Nestorianism; but not of Nestorianism pure and simple. If it had been such, then those clauses of the Creed which, by those who believe the document to have been drawn up subsequently to the Nestorian controversy, are understood to have been aimed at Nestorianism, might well have been referred to Adoptionism, and Adoptionism might have been supposed to be the heresy contemplated. It was Nestorianism under a peculiar phase. It maintained that though our blessed Lord was the true and proper Son of God (verus, proprius Filius) in His divine nature, yet the man Christ Jesus was the Son of God only by adoption (adoptivus, nuncupativus Filius). 'Confitemur et credimus,' they said, 'Dei Filium ante omnia tempora sine initio ex Patre genitum, co-æternum et consubstantialem, *non adoptione sed genere*. . . . . Confitemur et credimus Eum factum ex muliere factum sub lege, *non genere esse Filium Dei, sed adoptione, non natura, sed gratia.*'* Accordingly, the writings of those who oppose the heresy, whether they be argumentative treatises or formularies of faith, never fail to affirm in express terms, and to repeat the affirmation again and again, that our blessed Lord is the very true Son of God, His

* "They are the words of Elipandus, as cited from his letter to Charlemagne in the Synodical Epistle of the Council of Frankfort, sent by the Bishops of France and Germany to the Prelates of Spain." —'Harduin Council,' iv. 883. This letter of Elipandus and the Spanish Bishops is given in Migne's 'Patrologia,' tom. ci. pp. 1322 to 1331. The quotation is from the second section.

own proper Son, not only in His Godhead, but in His manhood also—'*verus in utraque substantia, non putativus sed verus, non adoptione sed proprietate, una Persona, Deus et homo.*'* The word Ὁμοούσιος was not more dwelt upon in the times of the Arian controversy, nor Θεοτόκος in those of the Nestorian, nor Filioque in those of the Processionist, than were the terms *verus Filius*, *proprius Filius*, as opposed to *adoptivus Filius*, *nuncupativus Filius* in the Adoptionist.†

"Here is an extract from a formulary drawn up in 791; or, as Pagi maintains, in 796, by the very Paulinus, whose claim to have been the author of the Athanasian Creed we are discussing, and enjoined by the Council of Friuli, where it was recited, upon the clergy to be learnt by heart so accurately, that not one jot or tittle might be added or taken away: 'Ita ut ne unus quidem apex intermittatur vel augeatur.' Observe first how the terms which I have referred to find their way even into the earlier portion of the Confession which relates to the Trinity: 'Has igitur tres Personas, Patris, Filiique ac Spiritus sancti non putativas vel quasi suspicabiles tantum sed veras, subsistentes, co-æternas, co-æquales credimus et consubstantiales. Alia est

* 'Caroli Magni Epistola ad Elipandum.' Harduin, iv. 902.

† The Orthodox also charged the Adoptionists with dividing Christ into two Sons: "In duos videntur filios unum Christum Dei Filium dividere, dum illum naturalem et adoptivum affirmare moliuntur."—'Speech of Paulinus at the Council of Friuli,' Migne's 'Patrologia,' tom. xcix. p. 292.

enim Persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti. Sed Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus non tres Dii, sed unus est Deus. Nam Pater verus Deus *vere et proprie Pater est*, qui genuit ex se, id est, ex sua substantia, intemporaliter et sine initio *verum Filium*, co-æternum et consubstantialem, et co-æqualem sibi. Et Filius verus Deus *vere et proprie est Filius* qui ante omnia sæcula genitus est de Patre intemporaliter et absque ullo initio, Lumen de Lumine, Deus verus de Deo vero.'

"Then passing on to the Incarnation, the formulary proceeds: 'Nec obfuit humana et temporalis nativitas divinæ illi et intemporali nativitati, sed in una Christi Jesu persona verus Dei, verusque hominis Filius. *Non alter hominis Filius et alter Dei, sed unus idemque Dei hominisque Filius: in utraque natura, divina scilicet et humana, Deus verus et homo verus. Non putativus Dei Filius sed verus; non adoptivus, sed proprius*, quia nunquam fuit propter hominem quem assumpsit a Patre alienus. . . . Consubstantialis Deo Patri in sua, id est divina, consubstantialis etiam Matri, sine sorde peccati, in nostra, id est, humana natura. *Et ideo in utraque natura propriùm Eum et non adoptivum Dei Filium* confitemur.'

Such, then, is the language of the time in which Mr. Ffoulkes affirms the Athanasian Creed to have been framed; such the language, the carefully-formulated language, of the very person to whom he attributes the framing of it. And yet in that Creed, though it treads

upon the very same ground, deals with the very same subject, touches repeatedly the very points which formed the centre of the controversy, there is not a trace of such language. It declares indeed that our Lord is 'Dei Filius' and 'perfectus Deus;' but neither the affirmation that He is the *verus Filius*, the *proprius Filius in utraque natura*, nor the denial that He is in one nature the *putativus Filius*, the *adoptivus Filius*, finds any place in it. You look in vain for the slightest vestige of that controversy which for some years, and up to the very date at which the Creed on Mr. Ffoulkes' theory must have been framed, had been the all but engrossing subject of Paulinus' anxiety, and which, if he had been its author, either in the closing years of the eighth century, or at any time during the short remainder of his life—for he died in 802, or in January 804 at the latest—must have left its vestiges imprinted on it as plainly and distinctly as are those of the Sabellian, the Arian, and the Apollinarian controversies.

"I affirm, then, without fear of contradiction, that it is in the highest degree incredible that Paulinus can have been the author of the Athanasian Creed. And for a like reason it is extremely improbable that it had its origin, though from another author, within the period which I have referred to; that is, while the Adoptionist controversy was at its height, or even while it was still fresh in men's remembrance, say between 785 and 825."

I trust that I am justified in making this long extract by its importance and relevancy.

Professor Heurtley's conclusion is confirmed by Mr. Ffoulkes' futile attempt to find a condemnation of Adoptionism in the Athanasian Creed. To show "that Adoptionism is specifically condemned in the Creed," the following clauses are cited by him: "Who, although He be God and man, yet He is not two, but one Christ: one, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the manhood into God: one altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person."* Among the documents which appeared during the Adoptionist controversy, none probably is more momentous than the letter of the Spanish Bishops to the Bishops of Gaul, Aquitaine, and Austria. It was the authentic statement by the Adoptionists of their principles, and was the immediate occasion, in conjunction with a similar letter addressed to Charlemagne, of the Council of Frankfort being summoned and held. At the commencement of the proceedings of the Synod it was recited, and the Bishops present were requested by the King, who presided, to deliver their judgments upon its merits. Paulinus was among the Bishops present, and took a leading part in the proceedings. A separate answer to Elipandus and the Bishops of Spain was drawn up by him, and, with the sanction of the Council, addressed to them as the representation of himself and

* 'Athanasian Creed,' etc. pp. 271, 272.

the Bishops of Liguria, Austria, Hesperia, and Æmilia. He must, therefore, have been perfectly well acquainted with the letter of the Adoptionist Spanish Bishops. In the tenth section they quote with approbation the following language of St. Augustine:* "Quæ quidem omnia ideo ad Verbum referuntur, ut una Filii Dei persona insinuetur, ne quasi duo Christi videantur, unus Deus et alius homo. Ita sane factum, ut ibi non solum Verbum Dei, et hominis caro, sed etiam rationalis hominis anima, atque hoc totum et Deus dicatur ipse propter Deum et homo propter hominem. *Unus ergo Christus, non confusione substantiæ, sed unitate personæ.*" And, after making other quotations from the same Father, they proceed to state their own principles thus: "*Deus enim et homo, non duo sed unus est Christus. Unus autem non conversione divinitatis in carnem, sed assumptione humanitatis in Deum:* quia sicut in uno-

* I have been unable to verify this passage which the Adoptionist Bishops quote as from St. Augustine. But, so far as my argument is concerned, it is clearly immaterial whether they are the words of that Father or not. The point is, that they are quoted with approval by the Adoptionist Bishops, as expressing their own sentiments. And yet these very same words, when occurring in the Creed, are adduced by Mr. Ffoulkes to prove "that Adoptionism is specifically condemned in the Creed." St. Augustine does, however, make use of very similar language, though not precisely identical with that of the Creed: "Idem Deus qui homo, et qui Deus idem homo: non confusione naturæ, sed unitate personæ." (Augustine, Sermon 186, i.) St. Vincent of Lerins also uses language very nearly resembling that of Creed. This alone would be sufficient proof that the latter is not peculiarly characteristic of the age of Adoptionism, but may be assigned with far greater probability to the fifth century.

quoque homine duæ sunt quidem substantiæ, sed una persona est anima et caro, ita etiam in Domino et Salvatore Nostro, licet utraque substantia integritatem suam servet, ut scilicet neque in carne coaguletur divinitas, neque in divinitate resolvatur humanitas, *utraque tamen unus est Christus, unus mundi Redemptor et Dominus.*"* The exact correspondence of the language of St. Augustine, as here accepted by the Adoptionists, and their own language also, with the language of the Athanasian Creed, in which Mr. Ffoulkes discovers a specific condemnation of their heresy, is a clear proof that no such specific condemnation of Adoptionism is contained in the Creed, and that it was not composed with reference to that peculiar heresy. Further, it must be borne in mind that the Council of Frankfort was held not above six years previous to the date assigned by Mr. Ffoulkes to the composition of the Creed. Is it possible to suppose that Paulinus would have employed terms for condemning the Adoptionists, which he could not have failed to remember that they had themselves employed as expressing their own sentiments, and apparently with the purpose of repudiating the imputation of Nestorianism? To have struck at Adoptionism by means of terms which could not hit the mark, which Adoptionists notoriously denied to be inconsistent with their own principles, would have been a mere beating of the air.

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. ci. pp. 1326, 1327.

The other principal topic of controversy, at or about the period assigned by Mr. Ffoulkes for the compilation of the Athanasian Creed, concerned the relation of the Holy Spirit to the First and Second Persons of the Holy Trinity—whether He proceeds from the Son as well as the Father. This doctrine is, no doubt, affirmed in the Creed: "The Holy Ghost is of the Father *and* of the Son: neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding;" and the question for our consideration is, whether this affirmation is evidence that the Creed was drawn up at that period, notwithstanding the strong evidence to the contrary supplied by the entire omission of all critical terms condemnatory of the Adoptionist heresy.

But before attempting to solve this question, it is necessary to glance at the inconsistent, or rather conflicting, statements of Mr. Ffoulkes in regard to the above article of the Creed. In one passage he describes the Creed "as formally stating the Procession according to the Latin view." Hence, according to his theory, Charlemagne found in it exactly the instrument suited to his purpose—a Creed which might be substituted in the West for the Creed of Nicæa, and supply a durable basis of distinctive doctrine upon which he might found his empire—a barrier of lasting division between East and West. Yet, strange to say, a little farther on, he enunciates a perfectly different view: "The verse relating to the Procession of the Holy Ghost is literally

moderation itself. Few advocates of the Latin doctrine would have been content to stop where it stops; few Greeks would have declined going as far." "The words may imply, but they notably stop short of asserting, that 'the Holy Ghost *proceeds* from the Son' in the Latin sense—'*ex* Patre Filioque procedit.'"*

Mr. Ffoulkes thus cuts away the ground from beneath his own feet. For if the Creed does not distinctly assert the Latin doctrine, how could it be made to serve the object which Charlemagne, as Mr. Ffoulkes supposes, had at heart? How could it have served to justify to the Pope the addition of the Filioque to the Creed of Constantinople, and to convict the Greeks of error in rejecting that addition? How could it, even from Mr. Ffoulkes' point of view, teach a faith opposed to that of Nicæa and Constantinople? How could it have become "the expression of Latin dogmatism and the lever of Latin despotism?" This difficulty, however, is entirely of Mr. Ffoulkes' own fabrication. Clearly the Latin doctrine of the Procession is affirmed in the Creed, though with moderation. This is shown, on the one hand, by the omission of the words καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ from the clause relating to the Procession in the version of the Creed contained in the Greek Horologion, and on the other by the fact of the clause being quoted by Western controversialists again and again in support of the double Procession. To affirm that the Athanasian

* 'The Athanasian Creed: by whom written,' etc. pp. 263, 264.

Creed does not explicitly state the doctrine according to the Latin sense, inasmuch as it employs the preposition *a* in reference to it instead of *ex*, which is found in the Constantinopolitan Creed, is an untenable position, for both prepositions are used by Western writers with regard to the Procession; and I believe it would puzzle the most subtle intellect to prove that they convey any real difference of meaning. They are both thus used indiscriminately in the third Caroline book, the third chapter, in the profession of faith contained in Charlemagne's epistle to the Spanish Bishops, in the address of Paulinus at the Council of Friuli, and in 'Alcuin's Treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit.' Again, the preposition *a*, in reference to the Procession from the Father and the Son, occurs repeatedly in Charlemagne's epistle to Leo III., and in that of the latter to the Eastern Churches. These are late authorities, it may be said, but instances of the same occur in the anathema of the third Council of Toledo, in SS. Gregory, Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory of Tours, Avitus, and even in Tertullian.*

At the same time, though the doctrine of the Procession is clearly stated, according to the Latin mode of expression in the Creed, it is not prominently put forward. It is there, and, if it were not, its absence would be felt; there would be a sensible void, for no exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity could be com-

* See Appendix, Note C, for passages.

plete which passed over in silence the relations of the Third to the First and Second Persons. But it comes in naturally, and occupies its proper place in the picture; it does not look as though it had been introduced with a view of specially forcing itself upon the attention. Be this as it may, the mere fact of the assertion by the Athanasian Creed of the Procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son is no evidence whatever that the Creed is the production of the conclusion of the eighth, or the commencement of the ninth century, although the subject was much debated at that period, for this plain reason, that long before then the doctrine had been explicitly stated in professions of faith and in the writings of great doctors. It was in the Creed of Constantinople, as recited at the third Council of Toledo, A.D. 589, and an anathema was pronounced by that Council upon the denial of it; it is also found in the Confession of Faith adopted at the fourth Council * of Toledo, A.D. 633—a confession remarkable for identity of expression in several passages with the Athanasian Creed, it was reaffirmed by the sixth Council, held at the same place A.D. 638, in another but harmonious confession of faith, and by the eleventh, A.D. 675; and before these Councils it had been repeatedly enunciated by individual writers, especially by the great man who has done more than any one to mould

* Spiritum sanctum nec creatum nec genitum, sed procedentem ex Patre et Filio profitemur. Concilium Toletanum Quartum, 1.

the theology of the Western Church.* Hence, while the absence from the Athanasian Creed of any of the distinctive and critical terms condemnatory of Adoptionism amounts well-nigh to a proof that it was not constructed at the end of the eighth century, or early in the ninth, there is nothing in its assertion of the Procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son which need prevent our assigning its origin to a far earlier date, in fact to the early part of the fifth century; for at that time the doctrine had been formulated as it appears in the Creed.

It appears then that on considering Mr. Ffoulkes' theory we encounter *in limine* a tissue of improbabilities. He represents the Athanasian Creed as a forgery; and the principal agent in this foolish fraud (foolish, for would the world be deceived by it?) was a sagacious man of the world, an able statesman, a man "great in intellect and great in arms." The subordinates and accomplices in this wicked fraud were two men of honoured memories as good and holy men! He informs us, moreover, that Charlemagne was actuated by a political object in this transaction; that he wished to found a Western empire, independent of the East, upon the basis of a new and distinctive Creed, and yet at the very time when he is described as planning and bringing to completion this deep-laid scheme for separating the West from the East, history records that he was endea-

* See Appendix, Note C.

vouring to negociate the closest possible alliance with the Eastern empire; that Charlemagne adopted this plan with the twofold purpose of justifying to the Pope the interpolation of the Filioque into the Constantinopolitan Creed, and of substituting for this Creed that of Athanasius as a standard of orthodoxy in the West; and yet Charlemagne omitted to make the slightest mention of the Athanasian Creed to the Pope on an occasion when he could not have failed to press it, had he published it with the purpose assigned by Mr. Ffoulkes; and, so far from the Creed of Nice, or, to speak more correctly, of Constantinople, being ousted from the churches of Charlemagne's dominions, it grew into increased use under his sway. Mr. Ffoulkes attempts to divest his theory of the air of improbability surrounding it by adding instances of alleged fraud on the part of Charlemagne and his divines, similar to that which he imputes to them in regard to the Athanasian Creed, but without success: in no single instance is he able to substantiate his parallel. Nor does his theory receive any support from the Creed itself; but, on the contrary, from internal evidence it appears in the highest degree improbable that the document was the product of the age to which he ascribes its origin. The list of improbabilities would be incomplete if we omitted to notice the entire want of testimony. Many learned and ingenious men have made the origin and authorship of the Athanasian Creed the subjects of

research and study, but not one of them can be adduced by Mr. Ffoulkes as an authority in support of his theory. He is certainly entitled to the credit of originality. Several writers of the ninth century refer to the Creed, but not one so much as drops a hint that it was composed by Paulinus and published by Charlemagne, although if such was the fact it would have been known in all probability to two of them at least—Theodulph of Orleans, one of Charlemagne's favourite theologians and courtiers, and Agobard of Lyons, the keeper of Felix. But Mr. Ffoulkes gives us to understand that the transaction was a profound secret. Never truly was secret so well kept.

CHAPTER II.

MR. FFOULKES' THEORY UNSUPPORTED BY PROOF.

OUR consideration must now be directed to the actual proof of Mr. Ffoulkes' theory. The antecedent difficulties under which it labours are not sufficient ground in themselves for rejecting it, though they afford strong presumption against its truth. But before yielding credence to a story, which we have seen to be *a priori* highly improbable, it is an obvious duty, considering the gravity of the question at issue, to satisfy ourselves of the validity and trustworthiness of the evidence on which it rests.

1. Mr. Ffoulkes' proof of the authorship of Paulinus is based mainly, almost entirely, on a letter addressed to the latter by Alcuin. "What! when I have the privilege," says Alcuin, "of looking upon the letter of your blessedness, sweeter than honey, do I not seem to myself to be conversing wholly among the various flowers of Paradise, and with the eager hand of my desire to pluck from thence spiritual fruits? How much more, when I examined the little book ('Libellum') of your most holy faith, adorned with the purity of catholic

peace, most delightful in the beauty of its eloquence, most firm in the truth of its sentiments, I yielded up my whole mind to the indulgence of joy without restraint. Where from the one most bright and healthful fountain of Paradise I beheld the four rivers of virtues irrigating not only the fertile pastures of Ausonia, but the entire field of ecclesiastical Latinity; where also I perceived the gold-vomiting depths of spiritual meanings abounding with the gems of scholastic refinement. But indeed you have accomplished a work likely to be of extensive benefit, and one that is very needful in the definition of the Catholic faith—a work which I have long desired; and I have frequently tried to persuade our lord the king to have a symbol of the Catholic faith, most plain in meaning and most lucid in expression, gathered into one brief document ('chartulam'), and to have it given to all the priests of every diocese, to be read and committed to memory."

I have tried to produce as literal and exact a translation as possible, following Mr. Ffoulkes, except where he seems to me to give an erroneous or inaccurate rendering, and adopting some of Mr. Brewer's corrections. The original will be found in the Appendix, Note D. One mistranslation of Mr. Ffoulkes' is too significant to be passed by unnoticed. He renders "Catholicæ fidei taxatio" by "appraising the Catholic faith," and this absurd translation he adheres to in his last publication, *

* 'Athanasian Creed Reconsidered,' pp. 97, 98.

notwithstanding the very just criticisms of Professor Brewer, as also of Archdeacon Churton in Convocation, and attempts to justify it by an appeal to classical usage! But Alcuin is not a classical author; and in order to ascertain the meaning of *taxatio* or *taxare*, as used by him, surely we must turn, not to classical, but ecclesiastical Latinity, especially that of the age in which he lived. In this *taxare* is constantly used of defining, stating a matter, particularly with reference to doctrinal formulæ or confessions of faith.*

Some of Alcuin's expressions in the above letter Mr. Ffoulkes characterises as "highly specific;" so that he thinks people will agree with him, that they are "singularly descriptive of the Athanasian Creed;" others he considers "absolutely distinctive," and hopes to prove that they "can describe nothing else."† Yet, wonderful to say, although this letter, part of which is singularly descriptive and part absolutely distinctive of the Athanasian Creed, is no recent discovery, but has been always well known to scholars and theologians—a fact apparent from its being inserted in Baronius' Annals—Mr. Ffoulkes is the first person in the world to whom the idea has occurred, that it has any reference to the Athanasian Creed. Frobenius, the editor of Alcuin, is of opinion that the allusion is to "some work

* Instances from the Carolinian books and elsewhere are given in the Appendix, Note E.

† 'Athanasian Creed,' p. 230.

of Paulinus which has not yet seen the light." Then it is perfectly clear that the letter did not appear to Frobenius to be "singularly descriptive," nor yet "absolutely distinctive" of the Athanasian Creed; for he held it to refer to some work not extant; and it is also clear that he did not consider the Creed to be the work of Paulinus. And yet Mr. Ffoulkes seems to put forward this opinion of Frobenius as though it favoured his view! But will the interpretation which Mr. Ffoulkes applies to this letter bear the test of examination, notwithstanding the absence of testimony in its support? In sober reality, do its expressions convey the meaning which he assigns to them? Let our attention first be directed to the class represented by him as "highly specific" and "singularly descriptive" of the Athanasian Creed. Alcuin is charmed with Paulinus' "libellus fidei" as being "adorned with the purity of catholic peace, most delightful in the beauty of its eloquence, most firm in the truth of its sentiments." When we are told that this is singularly descriptive of the Athanasian Creed, we must needs shake our heads for doubt. True the Creed is "adorned with the purity of catholic peace," and is "most firm in the truth of its sentiments or principles;" and Mr. Ffoulkes having come to the conclusion that it is so, we are at a loss to account for his continued opposition to its retention. But who would describe the Athanasian Creed, or any formal, dogmatic statement, any mere exposition of faith, as

"most delightful for the beauty of its eloquence"—"eloquentiæ venustate jucundissimum?" Then we have the "gold-vomiting depths of spiritual meanings abounding with the gems of scholastic refinement." When Mr. Ffoulkes informs us gravely that this is singularly descriptive of the dogmatic definitions, the solemn but necessarily prosaic utterances of the Athanasian Creed, we can only reply to such an assertion by a smile. It is simply absurd. He only marks part of the sentence which speaks of the four streams of Paradise irrigating the whole of ecclesiastical latinity as specific and descriptive; but clearly, according to his view, the whole of it refers to the Athanasian Creed. Is he able to point out anything in the Creed, any clause or expression, which could have given occasion for this remarkable allusion to the four rivers of Paradise? Or how could the Creed itself, as Mr. Jones asks very pertinently, be likened to them? Next with regard to those expressions of the letter which are classed as "absolutely distinctive" of the Athanasian Creed, so much so that "they can describe nothing else," in which, according to Mr. Ffoulkes, Alcuin "has solved a long-vexed historical problem of the highest interest which, but for this stray letter of his, might never have been unlocked to the end of time,"* there is no denying that the Athanasian Creed is "a symbol of the catholic faith, plain in meaning

* 'Athanasian Creed,' p. 231.

and lucid in expression," so far as the mysterious nature of its subject-matter admits of its being so. We know, too, for certain, that not long after this letter of Alcuin's was written clergy were required to learn the Creed by heart; but I deny that this description is absolutely distinctive of the Athanasian Creed, so that it can describe nothing else; for I shall show by-and-by that at the time when Alcuin wrote his letter a symbol of the catholic faith had been drawn up recently under the superintendence of Paulinus, to which all that Alcuin says respecting the "taxatio fidei catholicæ" is strictly applicable. Moreover, Alcuin describes this document (apparently sent him by Paulinus) as being the very thing that he had long desired, meaning evidently a symbol of faith suited to the times, and having special reference to the peculiar errors of the age; but the Athanasian Creed, as Professor Heurtley has shown, contains none of the terms specially condemnatory of Adoptionism, the prominent heresy of the day, which Paulinus and Alcuin were engaged in combating, and therefore it cannot be the document here spoken of. It is to be noted further, that Alcuin says in addition, that Paulinus had obtained not only approval of God by his work of asserting and defining the faith, but the *praise of men.* "Habet . . . . hujus perfecti operis apud homines laudem," the subject being apparently "vestra sublimitas"—your highness. Upon which Professor Jones remarks very acutely: "Con-

sidering that Paulinus is supposed by Mr. Ffoulkes to have written the Athanasian Creed under a *strict incognito*, we may wonder how his having been praised by men for writing the work Alcuin refers to can indicate that work as the Creed. I should have thought this one expression quite sufficient to completely overthrow this theory; but Mr. Ffoulkes takes it as "highly specific" and "singularly descriptive of that Creed."*

To show that Mr. Ffoulkes has failed to prove that Alcuin's letter refers to the Athanasian Creed (and I trust this has been done) is all that is necessary to demonstrate the baseless nature of his theory. It will be interesting, and establish still more completely the hollowness of that theory, if we can produce the document or documents to which the letter does refer; but as far as regards the present argument this is not essential. Should it be impossible to show to what else the letter does refer, it would not follow that it must refer to the Athanasian Creed. The reference might have been, as Frobenius supposes, to some work not extant.

The letter of Alcuin appears to refer to three different documents—a letter of Paulinus, to which it is a reply; the little book of your faith, "vestræ fidei libellus;" and the definition or formula of the Catholic faith, "fidei catholicæ taxatio." The letter of Paulinus being lost, the second and third of the documents referred to

* 'Creed of St. Athanasius,' p. 24.

become necessarily the subjects of conjecture. The common opinion, which regards the 'libellus' and the 'taxatio' as representing one and the same work, I am compelled to depart from, having come to the conclusion, I trust not presumptuously, that it is untenable.

Madrisius, the editor of Paulinus, is of opinion that the letter of Alcuin refers to the three books against Felix, written by Paulinus, and to the 'Carmen de regula Fidei,' or metrical Creed, also composed by him,* and he thinks that these are mystically described in Alcuin's letter as the *four* rivers of Paradise. This view is also adopted by Pagi,† but it is beset by insuperable difficulties. These two distinct works, Paulinus' Treatise and his Metrical Rule of Faith, would never surely have been described conjointly by Alcuin as 'libellus fidei' or 'taxatio fidei.' They cannot be said to correspond with Alcuin's account of the work which he had long desired, "a symbol of faith most plain in sense and most lucid in expression"—a description which holds true of neither of them—"gathered together," moreover, "into *one* brief document." Least of all can we conceive it possible that he would have wished the clergy to be required to commit to memory a long controversial treatise in three books, together with a poem in a hundred and fifty-one lines. This

* 'Dissertatio de Felicis et Elipandi Hæresi,' p. 56. Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. xcix. p. 578.

† 'Crit. in Baronii Annales,' an. 798.

would have been indeed a burthen too heavy for them to bear.

Mr. Brewer appears to think that the metrical Creed is alone referred to. I believe it to be the 'Libellus;' but I cannot persuade myself that it is the 'Taxatio.' It bears in the peculiarities of its style unmistakable evidence of being the composition of Paulinus: commencing with an exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity, it proceeds to assert the proper Sonship and Divinity of our blessed Saviour, with obvious reference to the errors of the Adoptionists, and after a mystical passage of some length the author goes on to repudiate one by one the principal heresies by which the faith has been assailed and to pass censure upon their authors by name. It completely answers Alcuin's description of the 'Libellus Fidei' sent him by Paulinus, and supplies the key to the hyperbolical language and figurative allusions which the former employs. It is not only "adorned with the purity of catholic peace," and "most firm in the truth of its sentiments," but in the judgment of an age, when a corrupt literary taste was prevalent, would be "most delightful for the beauty of its eloquence." In its laboured imagery and inflated verbiage we recognise at once "the gold-vomiting depths of spiritual meanings abounding with the gems of scholastic refinement." If Alcuin in his letter talks of conversing among the flowers of Paradise, and gathering from thence spiritual fruits, this is accounted for by a mystical description of

Paradise in the Carmen of Paulinus. If Alcuin says that in the 'libellus' of Paulinus he beheld "from the one most bright and healthful fountain of Paradise the four rivers of virtues" irrigating the whole field of ecclesiastical Latinity, in the Carmen of Paulinus we meet with the following lines—

> "Ad fontem salientis aquæ qui viva fluenta
> Influit, et rores *uno de gurgite fusos*
> Divisos spargit, pariles per *quatuor amnes*
> Albentes perducit oves," etc.

This passage, Mr. Jones thinks, is a critical settlement of the question. And so I believe it to be, as far as regards the identification of the "fidei libellus," or rather "fidei vestræ libellus," of Alcuin's letter with the Carmen or metrical Creed of Paulinus; but when we pass on to the "taxatio fidei catholicæ," I submit that it is impossible to apply what Alcuin says of that to the same document. There is really nothing which compels us to regard the 'libellus' and 'taxatio' as one and the same. On the contrary, the description of the latter is to my mind no less clearly indicative of a symbol of the faith composed in prose than that of the former is of one expressed in poetic language and imagery. The metrical Creed might be represented fitly as "libellus fidei," libellus being a term of wide application; but it is not strictly a "*taxatio* fidei," a defining, a formal setting forth of the faith in precise language. It could not have supplied the want long felt by Alcuin. It

is certainly not "a symbol of the faith most plain in meaning and most lucid in expression," for much of it is exceedingly mystical and obscure. We know nothing of the clergy being required to learn it by heart; nor is it at all likely that they would have been required to learn by heart a work of this character, into which the figurative and imaginative element enters largely. Is there, then, any other work which appears to meet the conditions of the case? In the spring of the year 796, soon after Easter, a council was held at Friuli, under the presidency of Paulinus as Metropolitan, at which a new Creed or Profession of Faith was adopted, so completely corresponding with Paulinus' "taxatio fidei catholicæ," as described by Alcuin, that it is surprising the idea of recognising in it the document alluded to should have suggested itself to no one. It had been drawn up, if not by Paulinus himself, at least under his direction and with his sanction, and therefore might be not improperly called his work; and it is worthy of notice that Alcuin uses the plural number in reference to it—"Pernecessarium *fecistis* opus in catholicæ fidei taxatione"—you, *i.e.* you with your suffragan bishops assembled in Synod. Afterwards, when addressing Paulinus personally, he employs the singular number, as also in other letters, particularly when asking to be remembered by Paulinus in his prayers and at the altar. This profession of faith, too, exactly answers to Alcuin's account of the work, which he had long wished

for, and which he at length found in the 'taxatio fidei' of Paulinus. It makes use of terms specially and obviously condemnatory of Adoptionism. It is strictly "a symbol of the Catholic faith," and might be fairly characterized as "most plain in meaning, and most lucid in expression." And there can be no question that in Alcuin's judgment it might be suitably given to all the clergy, and committed by them to memory; for the Council expressly ordered "*all the priests of God* and all ecclesiastical orders" to learn it by heart so accurately "that not one jot or tittle might be taken away or added;" and moreover, it proceeded to warn them that they would incur ecclesiastical penalties in the event of disobedience.* I believe, therefore, that, soon after the conclusion of the Council, Paulinus wrote to Alcuin, sending him at the same time a copy of the Creed drawn up and adopted at Friuli, together with his own metrical composition, expressing the faith in the mode which approved itself to the "scholastic refinement" of the age; for it was the fashion then to turn everything well-nigh into verse. I was under the impression that the idea of putting the Lord's Prayer into metre must have originated with the high poetic genius of a Nicholas Brady or Nahum Tate, until, on reading Lambecius' account of the Psalter presented by Charle-

* Concerning the date of the Council of Friuli, see Madrisius' 'Treatise de Concilio Forojuliensi;' Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. xcix. pp. 533–546; and for the Creed of Friuli, see ibid, pp. 293–295.

magne to Hadrian I., I found that our old but now discarded friends had been anticipated in their wonderful feat by some versifiers who lived in the time of that monarch. Nothing could be more probable than that Paulinus would communicate to his friend Alcuin early intelligence of the proceedings at the Council of Friuli. We have a letter from Alcuin to Paulinus, written evidently very soon after the subjugation of the Avars (for that event is mentioned as a recent occurrence), anxiously soliciting information respecting some important work which the writer, in common with many other persons, was expecting Paulinus shortly to undertake.* It is impossible to avoid tracing a connection between this latter and the Council of Friuli, which must have been held within a short period after this conquest of the Avars or Huns; for in his opening speech at the Council, Paulinus speaks of the continual incursions of these barbarian hordes as having interrupted for some time the regular observance of his Provincial Synod in accordance with the canons, and adds that as soon as possible after the restoration of peace he had summoned his brethren to meet in Council. He would naturally take an early opportunity of complying with Alcuin's earnest request for information as to his proceedings, especially if his own sense of their importance corresponded with his friend's anticipations; and this appears to have been the case from

* Epistle xxxix.

his calling the Council a magnificent work. Of course, he would enclose a copy of the Creed which he and his suffragan bishops had drawn up and required the clergy to learn by heart. This letter of Alcuin's is also remarkable as containing a passage which might have suggested to Paulinus the allusion in his metrical Regula Fidei to the streams issuing from Paradise. So that we appear to have some confirmation of the hypothesis, that Paulinus sent the Creed of Friuli and his own metrical Creed at the same time to Alcuin, and that to these documents the latter refers in the letter, which according to Mr. Ffoulkes' theory refers to the Athanasian Creed.

If I am right in my conjecture, that one of the documents referred to in Alcuin's letter of acknowledgment is the Creed drawn up at Friuli, it follows that that letter must have been written in the year 796, the date which Madrisius assigns to it, and not in 800, as Frobenius supposes; and, in fact, it bears internal evidence of having been written certainly before 799, probably before 798. "*Now again,*" it says, "the ancient serpent from the thickets of the Spanish country and the caves of envenomed perfidy is endeavouring to rear his head that has been bruised, not by the club of Hercules, but by that of the gospel, and to mingle new poisons of malediction with the old cups of iniquity." On which Frobenius remarks in a note: "He appears to reprove the pertinacity of Elipandus

after the conversion of Felix. Therefore the letter belongs to 800." But would Alcuin have described Elipandus, who all along had stedfastly adhered to his heresy, as *again* rearing his head after it had been bruised by the club of the gospel? This is most unlikely. On the other hand, the description applies strictly to Felix, who, after having abjured Adoptionism at the Council of Ratisbon, A.D. 792, and again in St. Peter's at Rome, whither he was conducted from Ratisbon under the charge of Angilbert, relapsed into his heresy on his return to Spain, and disseminated it with renewed zeal. This relapse of Felix is similarly represented by Alcuin. When addressing Elipandus, he says, "Felix, unhappily returning to your country, at your exhortation, resolved to rekindle the extinguished embers of infidelity."* Nor would Alcuin speak of Elipandus rearing his head *from the thickets of the Spanish country* (*ruris*), an expression clearly pointing to the situation of Urgel, the see of Felix, in a wild and remote district among the Pyrenees; just as, on the other hand, he elsewhere calls Elipandus "a city set upon a hill," with apparent allusion to the situation of Toledo, the see of Elipandus, which is literally a city set upon a hill. It is plain to me that this passage refers to Felix, not Elipandus; and if so, it must have been written before the Council of Aix, A.D. 799, at which Felix, after a long discussion with Alcuin, re-

* Alcuini adv. Elipandum, lib. i. 16.

nounced his errors, embraced, in profession at least, the Catholic Faith, and was committed to the safe custody of Laidrad, Bishop of Lyons. A man who was deprived for life of the enjoyment of his liberty was in no danger of giving any further trouble; and in 800, writing to his friend Arno, Alcuin mentions that Felix, in company with Laidrad, had been on a visit at St. Martin's, and had shown him great affection. Alcuin was clearly under no apprehension at that time of the old serpent again rearing his head. Nor is it likely that Alcuin would have written this passage after receiving (A.D. 798) the 'libellus' or treatise of Felix, which caused him such deep concern that he declared himself incompetent to refute it single-handed, and begged Charlemagne to appoint others who might aid him in the work, Paulinus being of the number. Felix was not then again endeavouring to rear his head; he had declared open war. So that the letter is thrown back before 798, and there cannot be a more probable date assigned to it than the year 796.

Mr. Jones has been led into some difficulty and confusion by a too undiscriminating acceptance of Madrisius' explanation of Alcuin's letter. He is compelled to admit the impossibility of applying the description—"a symbol of the faith such as might be learnt by heart by all priests"—to the three books of Paulinus against Felix as well as the metrical Creed (p. 29); and although he clearly points out that "there

are certain allusions or references in the letter to corresponding passages in the Carmen," *i.e.* the metrical Creed, such as "will satisfy any critical reader that the one is an answer to the other" (p. 27), elsewhere with curious inconsistency he identifies the "libellus fidei," which is the subject of these allusions and references, not with the metrical Creed, but with the "libellus catholicæ fidei" mentioned in a letter of Alcuin to Arno, which he acknowledges to be none other than Paulinus' treatise against Felix (p. 23). With Madrisius he confounds these two works of Paulinus, regarding them as four books of one work (the treatise, it must be recollected, consists of three books)—a view which Madrisius appears to have adopted as a possible method of accounting for the mention in the Carmen of the four rivers flowing out of Paradise, but one which is entirely unsupported by proof or authority. The four rivers may be understood with greater probability of the four cardinal virtues; or, what is more probable still, of the four gospels; for we find the four gospels thus mystically represented in the Caroline books, in the composition of which, most likely, Paulinus had a hand. "Evangelium . . . est amnis quadrifluus ab uno ineffabili Paradisi fonte progressus et in quatuor amnes insigniter derivatus et ad arentia corda irriganda salubriter emissus." (iv. 10.) The same figurative description of the four gospels occurs in one of Alcuin's letters (epist. cciii.), where Christ is said to be the one

fountain from which the four streams flow. That the "fidei libellus," or rather, "fidei *vestræ* libellus," mentioned in Alcuin's letter to Paulinus, and the "libellus fidei catholicæ" mentioned in the letter of the former to Arno, are not identical, is clear from this alone, that the one was sent by Paulinus to Alcuin, whereas the other was sent by Paulinus to the king. "If you have an opportunity," says Alcuin, writing to Arno, "of seeing Paulinus, salute him a thousand thousand times. I have read the treatise of the Catholic Faith which he directed to our Lord the King," etc. The former letter, as I have shown, appears from internal evidence to have been written in 796; the latter was certainly written in 800, for it alludes to events that occurred in that year. (Epis. cviii.) The similarity of the titles by which Alcuin describes the two works is no proof of their identity, for the word libellus admits of such a large interpretation, that libellus fidei may mean either a profession and exposition of the faith, or a treatise concerning, or in defence of, the faith. Alcuin more than once calls his own treatise against Felix, which is of the same length nearly as that of Paulinus, and consists of seven books, libellus; and he says that Felix had replied to him in the prolixity of a libellus, and not in the brevity of an epistle. So that to translate this word, as Mr. Ffoulkes transalates it, "tract," is giving it too restricted a meaning. That Paulinus' treatise of the Catholic Faith mentioned in Alcuin's letter to Arno

is Paulinus' treatise against Felix is evident, not only from the circumstance of its being sent to Charlemagne, at whose command the treatise was written, and to whom it was dedicated, but also from the fact that Alcuin proceeds to say that "it has pleased me greatly in its eloquence, and in the flowers of its expressions, and in the *account rendered of the faith*, and in the *authority of its testimonies*, so that I thought nothing was needed to be added in the questions lately at issue between us and the followers of Felix." All this might be said with perfect truth of the treatise of Paulinus, but could not apply to his metrical Creed, which is not an argumentative work, nor does it cite any authorities. That this treatise was not completed before A.D. 800 appears not merely from the mention made of it in this letter of Alcuin to Arno, which, as before said, was certainly written in the course of that year, but from other reasons, which it is needless to state here. Madrisius assigns for its date the year 796. His only ground, however, for so doing, is that the dedicatory epistle shows it to have been written in leap-year, which fell in 796; but if this year was leap-year, the year 800 would be so too. Professor Jones says (pp. 23, 26), that in a fragment of a letter from Paulinus to the king the Carmen de Regula Fidei, or Metrical Creed, is described as a 'munusculum' to Alcuin, and that it was sent by the former to the king with his libellus or treatise against Felix. But this cannot be

substantiated. In this fragment of a letter Paulinus evidently describes the work itself which he directed to the king as 'munusculum.' He says nothing of its being a 'munusculum' to Alcuin, only he requests that it may be forwarded as soon as possible to his friend. Nor does he say what the work is; but, from the fact of its being sent to the king, it seems probable that it was his work against Felix. And what gives some confirmation to this is, that in the dedicatory epistle to Charles, prefixed to this work, he speaks of the three books of which it consists as three *munuscula;* not, however, on account of their being presents to Alcuin, but as being offerings to God. Alcuin, having read Paulinus' treatise thus forwarded to him through the king, desires Arno, as we have seen, to thank him for it a thousand thousand times. There are really no grounds whatever for identifying this munusculum with Paulinus' 'Carmen de Regula Fidei.'*

In concluding my remarks upon the most important point in regard to Mr. Ffoulkes' theory, I must repeat my assertion, that in order to prove the unsoundness of that theory it is not necessary to prove to what the letter does refer, in which he thinks he has discovered satisfactory evidence that the Athanasian Creed was composed by Paulinus. Though it were impossible to show to demonstration to what it does refer, it would be

* For the fragment of Paulinus' Letter to Charlemagne, see Migne's 'Patrologia,' tom. xcix. p. 468.

none the less clear that it does not refer to the Athanasian Creed. The explanation which has suggested itself to my mind I submit for consideration, in the belief (which it is not presumptuous, I trust, to indulge in) that it presents a not improbable solution of all the difficulties of the case.

2. Mr. Ffoulkes having failed in his attempted proof of Paulinus' authorship, his whole theory necessarily collapses for want of a foundation to rest upon. But even had he succeeded in proving this particular, he had also, in order to make out his case, to prove the fraudulent publication of the Creed by Charlemagne; viz., that this monarch published the Creed as the work of St. Athanasius, knowing it all the while to have been compiled by Paulinus. This is an essential feature in his theory. His first step here was of course to show that the Creed had been published by Charles as the work of St. Athanasius; and in proof he alleges some so-called Capitula printed upon the authority of Pertz as portion of the Capitulare adopted at the council which was held at Aix in October, A.D. 802, and presided over by Charlemagne. These Capitula are thus headed: "These are things which all ecclesiastics are required to learn," and the first of them is, "Fidem Catholicam sancti Athanasii et cetera quæcunque de fide." But we are told by one who bears the highest credit, and deservedly, for sound learning and accurate research, that Pertz was unwarranted by MS. authority

or historical evidence in inserting this document in the Capitulare of Aix, that his only ground in short for so doing was his own conjecture. "The document," meaning these so-called "Capitula de doctrina clericorum," says Professor Stubbs,* "is not a Capitulare at all, but simply an unappropriated memorandum with no sign of authorship or date. Pertz, seeing that it contains matter similar to that which from the Annales Laureshamenses and Moissiacenses, and from a Capitulare Generale, referred to that Council, he knew to have been propounded on the occasion, placed it conjecturally under the same date, giving as his authority for the text of it two Freising MSS. now in the Royal Library of Munich. These are two copies, one taken from the other, of Isidorus de Officiis, at the end of which, on a spare leaf, this document occurs. . . . Seeing that the document has no external indication of date in Pertz, I wrote to Dr. Halm, the Royal Librarian at Munich, to ask him to look at the original MS. He did so; and replied that it was undated, and without historical context. Not satisfied with that, I wrote again, asking whether there were anything whatever in the MS. that supported Dr. Pertz's conjecture. His reply is most conclusive. It does not contain the slightest indication which should lead us to regard it as a Capitulare of Charles; Pertz, in fact, had not done so. On the sole authority of the MS. the text rests, and the MS. gives

* Letter to 'The Guardian,' April 3rd, 1872.

no clue to its history. There is no external evidence to connect it with Charles; it is not in Ansegis; no accredited Capitulare of his mentions the Athanasian Creed at all. As for the internal evidence, it will be seen on comparing it with the Generale Capitulare (printed in Pertz i. c. 106) of the Council of October, 802, that the latter, though a much more circumstantial document, does not mention the Athanasian Creed, so that the analogy between the two fails at its most important point." To all this Mr. Ffoulkes is only able to reply, that in Pertz's judgment the document must have belonged to the Capitulare of Aix, published by Charles, and Pertz is a high authority in such matters; also, that the omission of it from the collections of Ansegis and Benedict (for he admits that it is omitted by both) is no proof of its not having been published by Charles, as they have omitted several of his Capitula, but which he does not specify.* To which Professor Stubbs makes the conclusive rejoinder, that "Pertz gives his authority for the text, and that authority does not justify his inference. It does not contain even the title Capitula, &c. I must repeat," he adds, "that there is no evidence for connecting that particular document with the Council held at Aix in 802."† Besides, inasmuch as Ansegis states in his preface that he had embodied in his collection all the Capitula of Charle-

* Letter to 'The Guardian,' April 10, 1872.
† Ibid, April 17, 1872.

magne, Louis, and Lothaire, which he was able to find, and Benedict states in his preface that his collection was designed to supply the omissions of Ansegis, and did supply them, it is highly improbable, if this important Capitulum had been published by Charlemagne, that it should not have been inserted in either of these collections. The omission is almost conclusive proof that the authority of Charlemagne cannot be claimed for it, so that Mr. Ffoulkes is unable to prove that the Athanasian Creed was ever described by Charlemagne in any of his Capitularies as the work of St. Athanasius; still less is he able to prove that it was so described by Charlemagne, though he knew it at the time to have been composed by Paulinus. Indeed, although Mr. Ffoulkes speaks of Paulinus as "a leading personage" at the Council of Aix, held in October, A.D. 802, there seems to be no clear evidence, or rather none whatever, of the latter having been present there at all. Madrisius, to be sure, asserts that he took part in the Council, and that he did so in the character of Papal legate; and adds that the proceedings of the Council were prolonged to the commencement of the following year.* But he makes these statements on the sole authority of Baluze; and it must be admitted that the conclusions of Baluze in the matter were built on most uncertain premisses. Besides, they are contravened by the assertion of

* 'S. Paulini Vita.' cap. xi.; Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. xcix. pp. 81–84.

Hincmar, that the Cisalpine provinces were free from the interposition of a Papal legate after the death of Boniface during the reigns of Pepin, Charles, and Louis.* Thus no real proof, documentary or historical, has been produced to show that the Athanasian Creed is a forgery of Charlemagne. This astounding hypothesis is founded upon nothing but bare conjecture.

3. In corroboration of his assertion that the Athanasian Creed is a forgery of Charlemagne, Mr. Ffoulkes urges that it is quoted as the work of St. Athanasius by two of the leading and favourite divines of his court—by Alcuin, in a treatise concerning the Procession, dedicated to Charlemagne as Emperor, and by Theodulph, in a treatise on the same subject, composed by the command of Charles after the Council of Aix, A.D. 809—and he implies, not obscurely, that it was so quoted by them under the direction of their imperial master.† But is this the only possible mode of accounting for the circumstance? Is not the simple and obvious account, that these divines quoted the Creed as the work of Athanasius because they believed it to be so, in common with the rest of the world at that time? Similarly, Theodulph in the very same treatise makes several quotations expressly as from Athanasius, which are to be found in a work now commonly assigned to Vigilius Tapsensis, though not with perfect certainty; by none attributed to Athanasius. Why did

* Epis. xxx. 30. † 'Athanasian Creed,' pp. 246-248.

he do this? Clearly for this and no other reason, that it was his own belief, and the belief of his age, that the work on the Trinity from which he quoted was the genuine work of Athanasius; and of this we find a confirmation in the facts that the same work is quoted by Hincmar in the middle of the ninth century in his treatise, 'De una, non trina Deitate,' as proceeding from the pen of that father, and that it is so quoted later in the same century by Æneas, Bishop of Paris, in his treatise, 'Contra Græcos.' Indeed it was regarded as the work of St. Athanasius down to the seventeenth century, and was published among his works in printed editions. In the same way the Profession of Faith, which is now held to have been drawn up in substance at least by Pelagius, was described by Charlemagne and his theologians as having been composed by St. Jerome, simply because it was their own belief, as has been already observed, and the belief of their age, that it was the work of the latter. There is really no necessity, nor even ground, for supposing any fraudulent intention in these and such like instances. It should be added, that it is far from certain whether the treatise on the Procession above referred to as Alcuin's is rightly ascribed to him. Mr. Ffoulkes in his first work asserts its genuineness, and thereupon grounds a serious charge against Alcuin of compliance in propagating what he must have known to be a fraud and a lie.*

* 'Athanasian Creed,' pp. 258, 259.

But in his 'Athanasian Creed Reconsidered' he reconsiders the point, and speaks doubtfully respecting it.* Probably it is not Alcuin's, and was written about the same time as Theodulph's treatise, just after the Council of Aix, in 809. The dedication, as has been already noticed, shows that it was composed some time between A.D. 800, when Charles was crowned Emperor, and his death, which occurred at the commencement of the year 814.

4. Mr. Ffoulkes, after attempting to prove that Charlemagne first published the Athanasian Creed as the work of St. Athanasius knowing it not to be so, endeavours to account for the selection of the peculiar title which it has always borne.† He suggests "several ways of accounting for it" which are to his mind "perfectly free from cavil." "In the first place the work was not original, but compiled." But how could this circumstance suggest its being entitled "the Creed of St. Athanasius," unless it had been compiled from the writings of that father? So far, however, according to Mr. Ffoulkes, is this from being the case, that "literally not a verse has been culled from him,"‡ and its "materials are drawn mainly from St. Augustine;"§ so that on this ground it should have been called "the Creed of St. Augustine," not "the Creed of St. Athanasius." "Secondly," he proceeds, "Paulinus, had he published

* Page 74. † 'Athanasian Creed,' pp. 238–242. ‡ Ibid, p. 347.
§ 'Athanasian Creed Reconsidered,' p. 90.

it (*i.e.* the Creed) himself, might have quoted numerous precedents for giving it to the world under cover of a greater name than his own. Without appealing to forgeries, had not Vigilius, bishop of Thapsus, in Africa, published numerous works under borrowed names, including that of St. Athanasius? and were there not countless unexceptionable tracts and sermons in circulation attributed to St. Augustine that were none of his?" What confusion is here! What inconsecutiveness of reasoning! Mr. Ffoulkes twice states that the work on the Trinity now ascribed to Vigilius passed in the age of Alcuin and Paulinus as the veritable work of Athanasius,* and no doubt he is right. The fact is apparent, as has been already remarked, from the circumstance that Theodulph repeatedly quotes from this treatise as the work of Athanasius. But then, if the true origin and history of this work were unknown to Paulinus, if he was entirely unaware that it had been written by Vigilius and published by him under the name of Athanasius, how could it possibly have suggested to him the idea of doing the same thing by his own work? How could he have regarded or quoted as a precedent for his own conduct a similar action of another, which was a thing perfectly unknown to him? In regard to the works wrongly attributed by St. Augustine (for no doubt even in the time of Charlemagne he, like other eminent fathers, was credited with much that

* 'Athan. Creed,' p. 254. · 'Athan. Creed Reconsidered,' pp. 87, 88.

was not really his) the analogy fails altogether. They had come to be regarded as written by St. Augustine, not from having been first published under his name, but because they had become mixed up with his writings through the carelessness or ignorance of scribes or some accidental circumstance. Besides, Paulinus and his contemporaries must have been as ignorant of the true origin of these "unexceptionable tracts and sermons" as of that of the work on the Trinity falsely ascribed to St. Athanasius. Mr. Ffoulkes' third mode of accounting for the Creed being called by the name of St. Athanasius is the most remarkable of all. "Paulinus," he says, "was *not* the publisher of his own work. It was taken out of his hands by his imperial master, and applied to a public purpose." Then he goes on to dwell upon the circumstance, which we learn from the epistles of Alcuin, of the friends and divines of Charlemagne, as well as the emperor himself, bearing an assumed name of a complimentary nature. "Charlemagne was called David; Alcuin, Flaccus or Horace; Angilbert, Homer; Arno, Aquila; Riculph, Damætas; Adelard, Augustine; and so forth." By the way Adelhard was not called Augustine but Antony, probably on account of his being Abbot of Corbey. "Paulinus, in spite of his years, cannot have been the solitary exception to a rule to which Charlemagne conformed. What was his *nom de plume?* Why should it not have been Athanasius?" After adding some reasons in support of this conjecture,

he proceeds by a single sentence, stating the simple truth, to demolish the edifice which his ingenuity had elaborately constructed. "Unfortunately there is not a grain of evidence in their writings" (*i.e.* the writings of Charlemagne and his divines)—"at least in those that have come down to us—that he" (*i.e.* Paulinus) "was ever known to them by that title." But the resources of Mr. Ffoulkes' ingenuity are not yet exhausted. He has to account for the entire lack of evidence in support of a fact which has no existence except in his own imagination. How does he achieve this somewhat difficult task? By suggesting another fact, which is equally the creature of his own imagination, equally devoid of all evidence: "was he then" (viz. Paulinus) "singular in having no assumed name at all? *or was this his assumed name, known only to the initiated, and kept a profound secret from all else?*" . . . . "*There was concealment.*" The italics are the author's own. We have already seen that Mr. Ffoulkes is unable to substantiate his allegation that the Athanasian Creed is a forgery of Charlemagne. If anything were required to confirm our conviction of the fictitious nature of his theory, the complete failure of his attempts to account for the selection of the title, which according to his view was imposed by Charlemagne upon the Creed, would supply the desideratum.

5. In support of his theory respecting the date and authorship of the Athanasian Creed, Mr. Ffoulkes

alleges that it is quoted in treatises concerning the Procession, written against the Greeks after the year A.D. 800 (the date, it will be recollected, assigned by him for its compilation); and that of the numerous works written against Adoptionism one alone quotes it, and that was written after that period, while the rest, which were all written earlier, pass it by unnoticed. "View these facts," he says, "in connection with the complimentary letter addressed by Alcuin to Paulinus that year, and who can doubt when the Athanasian Creed was written, or by whom?"* No doubt, supposing that the facts are correctly stated by him, and that no evidence to the earlier existence of the Creed could be produced, this argument appears at first to give much support to his theory as regards the date of the Creed; as regards the authorship, it can be of no weight whatever, unless it be admitted that Alcuin's letter to Paulinus refers to the Creed. But, in the first place, it is certainly inaccurate to assert, that "by A.D. 800 all the works written against Adoptionism, with one exception (viz., the treatise of Agobard), had been published;" for the work of Alcuin against Elipandus appears from internal evidence not to have been written until that year at the earliest, inasmuch as it alludes to the renunciation by Felix of his heresy, which took place A.D. 799, as an event of some previous year;† and those

* 'Athanasian Creed,' &c. p. 244.

† Alcuin adv. Elipandum, i. 16.

of Alcuin and Paulinus against Felix probably were neither of them published earlier. So that, assuming that Mr. Ffoulkes is right in assigning the letter of Paulinus to Alcuin to the year 800, and explaining it as referring to the Athanasian Creed, Alcuin must have been acquainted with the Creed at the time when he wrote against Elipandus, and probably when he completed and published his treatise against Felix; and Paulinus probably did not publish his treatise against Felix till after his composition of the Creed. Thus the argument loses much of its apparent force; its cogency is still more reduced if the letter is dated earlier than 800. And in his last work, Mr. Ffoulkes seems inclined to set it earlier, evidently because he feels the difficulty of maintaining that the Creed was not composed till 800 in the face of the fact that Denebert quoted a considerable portion of it in the preceding year. But seriously as the argument is affected by these inaccuracies of date, we need not insist upon them in order to show its invalidity, which may be demonstrated from other considerations. Let it be granted, that all the treatises of Alcuin and Paulinus against Adoptionism were written, as Mr. Ffoulkes assumes that they were, before A.D. 800, and that the work of Theodulph on the Procession, as well as that attributed to Alcuin on the same subject, was later—as was really the case—this is no kind of evidence that the Creed was drawn up in that year. The reason why it is quoted in the latter

works is obvious—it contains a passage clearly expressing the doctrine of the Double Procession; and Western writers, believing the Creed to have emanated from St. Athanasius, were naturally glad to allege his great authority in support of their own views. And the reason why it is not quoted in the former class of works is equally obvious—it contains nothing specially and critically applicable to Adoptionism. This account of the matter may upon first consideration appear difficult to reconcile with the fact, that the Creed is quoted in the treatise of Agobard against Adoptionism; but really it receives confirmation when the nature of the quotation made by Agobard, and his object in making it, are duly weighed. Upon the death of Felix, A.D. 818, a paper which he had written was found re-affirming his errors. Agobard, who was the custodian of Felix, having succeeded Leidrad in the Bishopric of Lyons, was naturally concerned by the discovery of the insincerity of his ward, and "deemed it opportune," as he says at the commencement of his treatise, "to confront the expressions in which Felix had departed from the true faith with the opposing opinions of the holy Fathers." Then, a little further on, he adds, "But he who does not deign to read what proceeds from ourselves, has here in sufficient number the opinions of the holy Fathers annexed, because, as the blessed Athanasius says, 'Except a man do keep the Catholic faith whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish ever-

lastingly.'"* It is plain that Agobard had before him the Athanasian Creed; that he regarded it as the work of Athanasius; and the plan of his own work clearly required him to quote any of its language which could be brought to bear distinctly and unequivocally against the errors of Felix. But he only quotes the second clause, which asserts the necessity of keeping the Catholic faith, and evidently he does so simply to justify himself in appealing to the authority of the Fathers. He does not cite a single clause or sentence of the Creed as specifically condemnatory of the peculiar tenets of Adoptionism, and the necessary inference is that he could find nothing in it which was so. This I confidently submit is a clear confirmation of what has been advanced, that the omission of any quotations from the Athanasian Creed in the works composed by Alcuin and Paulinus against Adoptionism is to be accounted for by their inability to discover anything in it relevant to their purpose; and if so, such omission does not afford a shadow of presumption against the existence of the Creed at the time when those words were written. The same of course may be said of the omission of any reference to the Creed in the epistle of Charlemagne to Elipandus and the Spanish Bishops, which has been alleged very confidently as proving its non-existence at the time of the Council of Frankfort,

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. civ.; Agobard: adv. Felicem, section i.-iii.

when that letter was written. The premiss does not justify the conclusion.

6. In corroboration of his hypothesis that the Athanasian Creed was composed by Paulinus, Mr. Ffoulkes, while maintaining it to be a compilation, not an original work, asserts that "there are portions of it which fit Paulinus so well that, in fact, they could be attributed to nobody with more reason."*

(*a*) "Of these," he continues, "the verse relating to the Procession of the Holy Ghost is most conspicuous. It is literally moderation itself. . . . The Holy Ghost is described as 'of the Father and of the Son,' first the preposition used being *a*, not *ex;* and then, 'neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding.' . . . The words may imply, but they notably stop short of asserting, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son in the Latin sense—'*ex* Patre Filioque procedit.'" Mr. Ffoulkes is singularly unfortunate in adducing this use by the Creed of the preposition *a* in reference to the doctrine of the Procession as evidence of its composition by Paulinus; for we find that the Profession of Faith which was drawn up and adopted at the Council of Friuli, and therefore was certainly approved and sanctioned, and probably actually composed, by Paulinus himself (who was the President and ruling mind of the Council), twice using the preposition *ex*, not once the preposition *a*, in reference to this subject—"Spiritus

* 'Athanasian Creed,' p. 263.

Sanctus non genitus, nec creatus, sed *ex* Patre Filioque intemporaliter, et inseparabiliter procedens;" and again, "Spiritus Sanctus non est personaliter Pater et Filius, sed *ex* utroque procedit."* Thus the terminology of the Creed on the Procession appears to prove the very reverse of that which Mr. Foulkes adduces it to prove. And though he tells us that "an explanation of this studied moderation . . . is plainly supplied in the address of Paulinus to the Synod of Friuli," this will be far from plain to most minds. There is nothing there to show that the use of the preposition *ex* in reference to the Procession is distinctive of the Latin doctrine, nor yet is there anything there to prove that the employment of *a* in reference to the same subject is peculiar to Paulinus. On the contrary, he evidently employs the two prepositions in reference to the Procession as convertible, and identical in meaning. This is apparent remarkably enough from a passage quoted by Mr. Ffoulkes: "How firmly grounded in this stability of the faith" (the faith, viz., of the Trinity) "were the Catholic and holy fathers" (those, viz., of Constantinople), "who have declared that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father (*a Patre*)! How glorious also were those who confess that He proceeds from the Father and the Son (*ex Patre Filioque*)!" It is the special object of Paulinus to defend the insertion of the 'Filioque' as not being contrary to the mind of

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. xcix. pp. 293, 294.

the Nicene fathers, but supplementary to their formula and explanatory of their meaning. The same is also apparent from another passage: "For these more recent (fathers), who added *Qui ex Patre Filioque procedit*, had read in the gospel the rebuke of the very same Truth to Philip—'Philip, he that hath seen me, hath seen the Father. Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me?' If therefore, as He Himself testifies, the Father is inseparably and substantially in the Son, and the Son in the Father, how can it be believed that the Holy Spirit does not always proceed essentially and inseparably from the Father and the Son (*a Patre Filioque*)?" Such is the moderation of Paulinus in his speech at Friuli! So "notably" does he "stop short of asserting the doctrine of the Procession in the Latin sense!" Another passage to the same effect might be quoted were there occasion. Abundant evidence has been already produced to show that the use of the preposition *a* in reference to the Procession is not peculiar to Paulinus.† In fact this preposition is used indiscriminately with *ex*, and, it may be added, *de* also, by Latin writers in general, as by Paulinus, concerning this subject.

This speech of Paulinus, by the way, is well deserving of attention for another reason. The main object of it appears to be to justify himself and the Council

* 'Concilium Forojuliense,' viii.; Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. xcix. p. 287. † Appendix, Note C.

in adopting a new confession of faith in addition to that of Nice or Constantinople. He maintains that he was not violating by this course the Canon of Ephesus, renewed at Chalcedon, forbidding the composition or teaching of any new Creed; and he does so on this ground, that what that Canon really forbade was not the composition or publication of any Creed other than the Nicene, but of any alien heretical Creed opposed to the mind and doctrine of the Nicene. Moreover, in support of this interpretation of the Canon and of his own course, he alleges the conduct of the Fathers of Constantinople and of those who inserted the Filioque. "They supplied, however," he says of the Fathers of Constantinople, "an exposition, so to speak, of their meaning (that, viz., of the Fathers of Nice), and confess that they believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, and the Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father; who with the Father and the Son is to be adored and glorified. For these things, and the rest which follows, are not contained in the sacred dogma of the Nicene symbol; subsequently, moreover, to wit, on account of those heretics, who whisper that the Holy Ghost is of the Father alone, and proceeds from the Father alone (*a Patre solo*), it was added, *Qui ex Patre Filioque procedit.* And yet these holy fathers are not to be blamed as though they had added anything to or taken away from the faith of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers, because they" (viz., the former) "did not enter-

tain a meaning contrary to theirs" (viz., of the latter, the Nicene fathers), "but endeavoured by sound modes of expression to supplement their incorrupt signification." Much as Mr. Ffoulkes says respecting the speech of Paulinus at Friuli, he passes by in complete silence that which is a very noticeable feature in it, the interpretation which it puts upon the Canon of Ephesus, renewed at Chalcedon. This is particularly noticeable at present, because it is a favourite topic with Mr. Ffoulkes; and during the recent controversy the fallacy has been taken up by others, and repeated with wearisome pertinacity, that this Canon in question forbade the composition or promulgation of any Creed *besides* the Nicene; and, therefore, that the Church of England is violating the spirit and letter of this Canon by receiving and reciting and sanctioning the Athanasian Creed. That Paulinus' interpretation is the natural and literal one appears from the very wording of the original canon as adopted at Ephesus: "The holy synod determined that it should be lawful for no one to propose, or write, or compose a different Creed contrary to that determined by the holy fathers assembled at Nice." ἑτέραν πίστιν. . . . παρὰ τὴν ὁρισθεῖσαν παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων τῶν ἐν τῇ Νικαέων συνελθόντων. The force of the preposition παρά here has been overlooked, which, it seems superfluous to remark, when followed by the accusative, often means "contrary to."* And this

* See Acts xviii. 13; Romans xi. 24, xvi. 17; Gal. i. 8, 9. St

interpretation is the only one which can be reconciled with the facts of history. The canon was drawn up in consequence of some simple Quartodecimans at Philadelphia being imposed upon by a Nestorian formula or Creed, which they subscribed in ignorance of its heretical character; and it was intended to guard against a similar occurrence in future. If the canon indeed forbade any other Creed than the Nicene to be made or received, the Council of Chalcedon and other general Councils completely misunderstood its meaning; for they recited and accepted the Creed of Constantinople, as well as that of Nice (the two Creeds are distinct, it must be borne in mind); and Catholic Christians in all ages have misunderstood it; an immense number of Creeds or professions of faith having been adopted, and promulgated, and put in circulation. That the Athanasian Creed was selected from such a multitude of Creeds for use in the devotions of the Church, and has survived in the esteem and veneration of believers, as the expression and symbol of the Catholic faith, whilst so many other similar documents have passed into oblivion, is a signal proof of its intrinsic excellence.

To return from this digression. Mr. Ffoulkes does not hold consistently to his own theory. Having concluded from Alcuin's letter that the Creed was composed by Paulinus, he afterwards assigns a not unimportant

Chrysostom, Hom. xx. in Epis. ad Rom. *τοῦ γὰρ ἐθνικοῦ τὸ κακὸν κατὰ φύσιν. τὸ δὲ καλὸν παρὰ φύσιν. παρὰ φύσιν γὰρ ἐνεκεντρίσθη τῷ Ἀβραάμ.*

portion of it, viz., the so-called damnatory clauses, to Charlemagne, not Paulinus.* The latter position by its apparent inconsistency with the former betrays the weakness of the whole theory. In one respect they resemble one another—that they are both unsupported by a tittle of real evidence. Mr. Ffoulkes infers that these clauses were not the work of Paulinus, because they do not breathe the tone of moderation which he finds in the before-mentioned speech of that divine. Had he considered attentively Paulinus' Carmen de Regula Fidei, or Metrical Creed, which has been so much discussed, he might have found reason for denying Paulinus' authorship of these clauses, not on the ground of their being too severe, but as being too moderate for him. Therein Paulinus pronounces upon the eternal condition of each arch-heretic in succession, beginning with Cerinthus, and ending with Sabellius. What he says of Arius may serve as a specimen—

> "Arrius in foveam, fodit quam perfidus ipse,
> Corruit, æterna damnatus nocte tabescit."

The much-abused clauses of the Athanasian Symbol are essentially different in character—not personal, but general in their application; not retrospective, but prospective; not uttering judgment upon the dead, but warning to the living—

> "Calm breathed warning of the kindliest love
> That ever heaved a wakeful mother's breast."

* 'Athanasian Creed,' pp. 260, 266–268.

Therefore I perfectly agree with Mr. Ffoulkes' conclusion in not recognising in them the hand of Paulinus, though I arrive at that conclusion by a different road. But he tears them from the context, with which they are intimately interwoven, and assigns them to Charlemagne, still crediting Paulinus with the rest of the Creed. On what grounds? That Theodulph and Alcuin (if he was indeed the writer of the treatise on the Procession attributed to him), writing by order of Charlemagne, both terminate their quotations from the Athanasian Creed with the clause, "He therefore that will be saved, must thus think of the Trinity." But what if it could be shown not only that they wrote their treatises, but also quoted this particular clause by order of Charlemagne? or if it could be shown that he himself had quoted it, would this amount to a proof that he had composed it? Mr. Ffoulkes, however, admits that Charlemagne never quoted the Creed himself. And if this argument is good for anything, it proves too much for Mr. Ffoulkes; for if it proves that this clause was from the pen of Charlemagne, it must prove the same in regard to the other clauses quoted in both treatises, including the one relating to the Procession, which Mr. Ffoulkes affirms to be the composition, not of Charlemagne, but Paulinus. Again, he compares with this clause the sentence added at the conclusion of St. Jerome's Creed, so called, as found in the Caroline books (iii. 1), which were drawn up, if not

by Charles himself, under his authority. It is as follows: "This is the true faith, this confession we maintain and hold, which whoso shall keep whole and undefiled ('inconvulse et intemerate custodierit,') shall have eternal salvation." Of course, Mr. Ffoulkes implies that there is such a strong family likeness between this and the clause of the Athanasian Creed, "He therefore that will be saved," etc., as to prove a common parentage. Many, however, will be unable to discover that strong likeness between the two, that "almost verbal identity," which appears to Mr. Ffoulkes so very plain—"a simple fact." Certain it is that the passage from the Caroline books is almost verbally identical with the conclusion of the Profession of Faith drawn up and affirmed at the Fourth Council of Toledo, A.D. 633; so that it is of doubtful origin, and can only be the suppositious and adopted child of Charlemagne.* There remain the clauses at the commencement and close of the Creed. Those at the commencement Mr. Ffoulkes does not attempt to trace to Charlemagne. "What is as it were prefixed to the Creed," he says,† "was a general axiom of those days founded on the verse which says, 'Without faith' —which everybody thought meant dogma then—'it is impossible to please God.'" The evidence on which he asks us to attribute the final clause to Charlemagne I will give in his own words: "That which stands at the end—'This is the Catholic faith, which except a man

* See Appendix, Note F. † 'Athanasian Creed,' p. 268.

believe faithfully and firmly, he cannot be saved'—cannot but recall what Charlemagne, writing to the Bishops of Spain, had said of his own summary, 'This orthodox faith . . . we profess to maintain and preach everywhere entire, seeing that there is no salvation in any besides it.'" This, I am sorry to say, is a mangled and imperfect quotation, which misrepresents Charlemagne. The entire passage is as follows: "This Catholic faith therefore, both handed down by apostolic doctors, and kept by the Universal Church, we profess to the utmost of our power to keep and preach everywhere in all things; because there is no salvation in any other" (viz., faith) "but *that which the Church always kept* with pacific unanimity from the commencement of the era of our salvation."* This passage, too, it must be remarked, occurs almost at the commencement of the Epistle to Elipandus and the Spanish Bishops, and does not follow, as might be supposed from Mr. Ffoulkes' language, Charlemagne's "own summary;" *i.e.* the dogmatic statement or profession of faith, referring specially to Adoptionism, which comes long after—almost at the conclusion. Nothing, therefore, can be plainer than that it is of the Catholic faith, which the Church always kept, and *not of his own summary*, that Charlemagne asserts "there is no salvation in any other." That Charlemagne is not singular in affirming with the Athanasian Creed the necessity to

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. xcviii. p. 899.

salvation of a belief in the Catholic Faith, and consequently that this affirmation of his is not the slightest evidence of his authorship of the condemnatory clauses, is surely too well known to require any proof or illustration.

Such is Mr. Ffoulkes' evidence that the so-called damnatory clauses are the work of Charlemagne! If any persons are surprised that he should go about to prove the Athanasian Creed to be the composition of Paulinus by attempting to show that a portion of it should be attributed to some one else, they must be told that "the teaching of the Athanasian Creed on the Procession apart from those damnatory clauses at the middle and end," as he contends, "goes far to fix it upon Paulinus." No one however will, I think, be disposed to admit this contention who carefully reads Paulinus' speech at Friuli, and the Creed drawn up there.

(*b*) Mr. Ffoulkes thinks his "next instance" not "less cogent."* It must be very much more cogent, if it is to prove anything at all. "From constantly repeating," he says, "the Athanasian Creed, we have got the doctrine engrained into us that 'all men will rise with *their own bodies*;' but there was a time when this was explicity taught nowhere but in the Aquileian Church. 'Ecclesia nostra,' says Rufinus, 'quæ quod a cæteris traditur carnis resurrectionem, uno addito pronomine tradidit, *hujus* carnis resurrectionem.'" He adds, "that wherever this

* 'Athanasian Creed,' p. 269.

doctrine is *expressed* it can be traced more or less directly to the Creed of Aquileia;" and elsewhere he speaks of the above-mentioned expression of the Athanasian Creed being "borrowed from the Aquileian Creed."* These are indeed astonishing assertions. The article concerning the Resurrection of the Flesh, with the pronoun prefixed, is no doubt peculiar to the Creed of Aquileia mentioned by Rufinus: but does it follow that the doctrine pointedly affirmed by that article as by the Athanasian Creed—viz., the identity of the bodies in which we shall receive our eternal reward for happiness or misery with those in which we now live—was nowhere taught in the primitive ages but in the Aquileian Church, was peculiar to that church, and emanated from it? If the Vincentian rule will apply to any doctrine, surely it will to this, as might be shown by abundant testimony. Did Tertullian, who taught the doctrine in similar terms to those of the Aquileian Creed, and who taught it in Africa two centuries before Rufinus wrote his comment, learn it from the Church of Aquileia or its Creed? or did St. Jerome, the great opponent of Rufinus? or St. Hilary of Poictiers? or Gregory the Great of Rome? Had the 'Liber de Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus,' which is commonly ascribed to Gennadius, and which very explicitly states this doctrine, any peculiar connection with Aquileia?† And not only was the doctrine not peculiar to the Church of

* Page 359. † See Appendix, Note G.

Aquileia, but the particular form in which in Rufinus' time it was expressed by the Creed of that Church, and on which Mr. Ffoulkes lays such stress, does not appear to have been invariably maintained by it. Professor Heurtley,* besides the Creed mentioned by Rufinus, gives two other Aquileian Creeds, both containing the article, 'Carnis Resurrectionem,' without the pronoun prefixed. "All that is known," he says, "of the age of these two Creeds is, that they were in existence about the year 855." From internal evidence he judges that one must belong to an age not far removed from that of Rufinus, the other to a somewhat later age. So that it appears probable that in the time of Paulinus this article of the Creed was recited without the pronoun in the Church over which he presided, and this makes it all the more apparent on what very uncertain ground this argument of Mr. Ffoulkes is based. Mr. Ffoulkes appears to discover heresy in the teaching of the Athanasian Creed that "all men shall rise again with their bodies;" for he considers that it "must have been omitted from the Creed of the Church" (*i.e.* the Constantinopolitan Creed) "by design."† Holding as he does that teaching and the teaching of the Aquileian Creed to be identical, he ought to have accounted for the fact that the latter is not impugned as heretical or erroneous by

* 'Harmonia Symbolica,' pp. 31, 32.

† 'Athanasian Creed,' p. 359.

any of the Fathers. These words of the Athanasian Creed appear to him to "involve a conflict with science," and present a difficulty to his mind which probably never suggested itself to any one besides. "*Their own bodies!*" he says. "Which? those they were born with, had in mature age, or died with?"* Surely the answer to this irreverent cavil is obvious. As the bodies which are ours in mature and old age are the same with those of our childhood, though changed, so the bodies which will be restored to us severally hereafter will be the same with those which now belong to us—the same, though changed. "Aliud demutatio," says Tertullian upon this subject, "aliud perditio."† To assert that the expression of the Athanasian Creed is 'borrowed from the Aquileian Creed' is absurd. It could not have been borrowed from it, nor even from the Apostles' Creed. In either case we should have had 'hâc carne" or 'carne,' not 'suis corporibus.' St. Jerome attached great significance to the Article of the Creed being '*Carnis* Resurrectionem,' and charged the Origenists with being unwilling to acknowledge 'the Resurrection of the *Flesh*,' while they declared their belief in 'the Resurrection of the *Body*,' the latter term being in his judgment ambiguous. The Athanasian Creed clearly guards against Origenism by adding the pronoun, 'with *their own* bodies.'

Thus the teaching of the Athanasian Creed on the

* Page 359, note. † 'De Resurrectione Carnis,' cap. lv.

resurrection was not peculiar to the Aquileian Church, but Catholic, and the mode of expressing that teaching could not have been borrowed from the Creed of that Church. Hence it is impossible to find in it the slightest ground for tracing the composition of the Creed to any particular doctor of the Aquileian Church.

(*c*) Mr. Ffoulkes finds a great similarity as regards *the turn of the sentence* between the verse of the Creed—"For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity," etc.—and a passage in Paulinus' work against Felix, which it is quite unnecessary to repeat. If authorship is to be determined by the turn of a sentence, what may not be proved? On the much stronger, but still insufficient, ground of resemblance, and even identity of language and phrase, the Creed might be shown to be the work of St. Augustine, or St. Vincent of Lerins.

(*d*) In his opinion the verse, "Who although he be God and man," etc., and the two following, contain a specific condemnation of Adoptionism. That this is not the case has been, I think, already shown.* And if it were so, was Paulinus the only person who wrote against Adoptionism?

My examination of Mr. Ffoulkes' theory has led me to the conclusion that he has entirely failed to make good his case. The account which he gives of the origin of the Athanasian Creed is not only beset with

* See above, pp. 62–64.

a priori improbabilities, but is unsupported by evidence; for he can produce no valid or sufficient evidence in support of his two main and essential propositions, that the Creed was composed by Paulinus, and that it was palmed upon the world by Charlemagne as the work of Athanasius. And the superstructure is necessarily as frail and unreal as the foundation on which it rests. Conjecture is substituted for fact, assumption for proof, and romance for history. Mr. Ffoulkes concludes with an expression of his confidence in the ultimate triumph of his cause. But the Athanasian Creed is not destined to perish by the weapon which he has forged against it. God grant that this great symbol of the faith may never be lost to the Church of England! Should such a calamity ever befall her, it will be brought about (as it can only be brought about) by the alienation of her mind from the dogmatic and revealed truths of Primitive and Catholic Christianity.

It is clear that the burthen of proof rested upon the author of such an allegation as that the Athanasian Creed is a forgery of Charlemagne's; and inasmuch as he has failed to substantiate his charge, its falsity may be considered conclusively determined, independently of any evidence of the Creed's existence prior to the date which he assigns for its composition. At the same time, every evidence to that effect is an *additional* proof of the untruth of the theory. That such additional proof is not wanting will appear in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III.

TESTIMONIES TO THE ANTIQUITY OF THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

IT is now my purpose to review the testimonies to the antiquity of the Athanasian Creed with special reference to Dr. Swainson's theory, which in its latest phase assigns the year 870 as the period when the Creed attained to its present complete form, after a process of growth commencing with the year 750,* as well as that of Mr. Ffoulkes, which, it will be remembered, dates the composition of the Creed A.D. 800, and its publication A.D. 802. I shall commence my series of testimonies (which it is almost needless to say are derived chiefly, but not exclusively, from Waterland's standard work) at a time a little subsequent to Dr. Swainson's era of completion, and trace it upwards.

1. Riculfus, Bishop of Soissons, in France, issued his 'Constitutions' in the year 889. In the fifth he admonishes each of his clergy to learn by heart, truthfully and correctly, the Psalms, the Athanasian Creed,

* 'A Plea for Time in Dealing with the Athanasian Creed,' p. 46.

the Canon of the Mass, and the Order of the Church's Seasons.* That the clergy were required to learn the Creed by heart, as well as the Psalms and Canon of the Mass, in the latter part of the ninth century, is the plainest possible proof of the estimation in which it was held at that period, and of the importance attached to it.

2. In a profession of faith made upon the occasion of his consecration to the Bishopric of Morinum, in the Province of Rheims, A.D. 871, Adalbert, after declaring his adhesion to the six general Councils, expresses his reverence for the Athanasian Creed, and makes a statement of his faith, which clearly follows that Creed in the order and arrangement of subjects, and sometimes adopts its very language. This profession of faith is most important, especially in reference to Dr. Swainson's theory, because we learn from it, first, that in the year 871 the Athanasian Creed was in existence in its entirety, and then, that long before this period the Catholic Church had been accustomed to make use of it in her offices. Adalbert's language is most clear on this point: "In sermone Beati Athanasii, quem Ecclesia Catholica *venerando usu frequentare consuevit*, qui ita incipit 'Quicunque vult salvus esse, ante omnia, opus est ut teneat Catholicam Fidem.'" This being the case,

* "Item monemus, ut unus quisque vestrum Psalmos et sermonem fidei Cotholicæ, cujus initium, 'Quicunque vult salvus esse,' et canonem Missæ, et cantum vel compotum, memoriter et veraciter et correcte tenere studeat."—Migne, tom. cxxxi. p. 17.

it is impossible to suppose that the Creed was not brought to completeness till the year 870, its two great component portions, relating to the Trinity and Incarnation, having remained in separation up to that time.*

3. The conclusion drawn from Adalbert's profession receives ample confirmation from our next testimony, which is derived from a source which it may be presumed that Dr. Swainson considers trustworthy. In his last book† he states that the Creed is contained in the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald (elsewhere described by him as the Psalter of Charles the Bald at Paris), which "professes to have been written in the year 870 or 871." In 'The Guardian' of March 20, 1872, the first of a series of letters by Dr. Swainson on 'The History and Use of the Athanasian Creed,' intended apparently for the instruction of the clergy, contained the following passage: "I have been compelled to give up all thought that the Creed assumed its present form before the middle of the ninth century, about fifty years later than the date to which Mr. Ffoulkes assigns it. There seems to be no Psalter or document that can be proved to be of an earlier date than 850 which contains it *as a whole:* from about that date every Psalter contains it, and it is continually referred to in episcopal injunctions and canons." This

* 'A Plea for Time,' etc., by Dr. Swainson, pp. 44–46.
† Ibid, p. 46.

statement, that the Creed appears in every Psalter from the middle of the ninth century, was not made without consideration; for it was expressly propounded as a subject for the attention "of the more learned and thoughtful readers" of 'The Guardian;' nor could it have been made without much study; for in his final letter, dated April 12, 1872, Dr. Swainson says that he had "taken notes of about sixty Latin Psalters carefully," and had "looked cursorily at about fifty more." But he did not abide by it very long; for early in the year following he published the last phase of his theory; viz., that the creed was not completed before 870. If so, how could it have been admitted into Psalters about 850, inasmuch as in all Psalters it appears in its present form, with only trifling variations of reading? My present object, however, is not so much to draw attention to this apparent inconsistency between Dr. Swainson of the spring of 1872, and Dr. Swainson of the commencement of 1873, as to point out that his theory, as last enunciated, is simply irreconcilable with the fact which he asserts in the very same page wherein he enunciates his theory; viz., that the Psalter of Charles the Bald, dated 870 or 871, contains the Athanasian Creed. He gives it too as his final judgment respecting the famous Vienna Psalter, containing likewise the Creed in its Appendix, that that belongs to the same date;* so that he admits that the Creed is found in Psalters written

* Letter to 'The Guardian,' October 9, 1873.

in 870 or 871. Can we imagine it possible then that in the year 869, as he states, it did not exist in its present form, but only in an imperfect and fragmentary state? For these Psalters—to which were subjoined hymns from the Bible, such as the song of Moses, of Hannah, of Hezekiah and Habakkuk, the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis, the Te Deum, the Athanasian Creed, sometimes the Benedicite, sometimes the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed, and Gloria in Excelsis, as is the case with the Utrecht Psalter—were simply Books of Devotion, for use in the services of the Church. Hence, from the date of the earliest Psalters extant containing the Creed, we are able to arrive at an approximate conclusion respecting the date of its admission into the offices of the Church, but no more than an approximate conclusion, because it is very possible—indeed, considering the immense destruction of manuscripts which has occurred since the ninth century, it is probable—that some Psalters containing the Creed earlier than any which have been preserved to us may have perished. It is at least apparent that the Creed was recited publicly in the Church at the time when the earliest Psalters containing it, at present extant, were written; and it may have been, and probably was, so recited still earlier. But a considerable period must have elapsed between its composition or its completion and its reception into the public offices of the Church. It is quite incredible that the latter event could have

followed the former in the short space of a year or two. The Creed had to pass from place to place, to become extensively known, to be recognised in the judgment of the learned in the different churches as a true expression and symbol of the Catholic Faith, to strike its roots firmly in the affections of Christians in general, and to secure for itself the tacit acceptance of the Church, before it could be placed in her office books, side by side with the sacred songs of Scripture, and such time-honoured and revered hymns as the Te Deum and Gloria in Excelsis, and be adopted as one of the accredited utterances of her belief and praise. All this was not the work of a day or a year. If we were to call it the work of a century at least, it would be a moderate estimate, especially when we take into account that a thousand years ago and more documents were not multiplied and transmitted from place to place with the same ease and rapidity with which the railroads and the regular postage and the printing-press have familiarized our own age. Accepting then, for the sake of argument, Dr. Swainson's position in regard to the dates of the earliest Psalters in which the Athanasian Creed is found, on this ground alone we should be justified in believing it to have been in existence about the year 770, if not earlier, some years prior to the date assigned by Mr. Ffoulkes for its composition. We shall, however, by-and-by see that there are sufficient grounds for thinking that it was recited in the offices of the

Church in the eighth century. And to this clearly the testimony of Adalbert, already quoted, points.

In connection with this subject I cannot forbear making the obvious remark, that the fact of the Church having singled out the Athanasian Creed from the great multitude of professions of faith which were in existence for a place in her Offices and Books of Devotion, along with the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed and Te Deum, is a conspicuous proof of its excellence and of the high estimation attached to it by our Christian forefathers.

4. Æneas, Bishop of Paris, in writing against the Greeks, quotes the Creed in support of the Latin doctrine of the Procession.*

5. Ratramn, or Bertram, monk of Corbey, makes the same use of it.† Both of these writers cite it as the work of St. Athanasius, the former applying to it the title of 'Fides Catholica,' the latter calling it a Treatise of the Faith, 'Libellus de Fide.' Both appear to have composed their works in consequence of the letter of Nicholas I. to Hincmar, inviting the attention of the French Bishops to the charges of error in doctrine and practice brought by the Greeks against the Latins; one of these being, that the latter asserted the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son. The letter was received by Hincmar in December, 867.

* Æneas Paris., adv. Græcos,' c. 19.

† 'Ratram, contra Græcorum oppos.,' lib. ii. c. 3; Migne, 'Patrologia,' cxxxi. p. 17.

6. St. Anskar, 'the apostle of the North,' who died A.D. 865, Archbishop of Hamburg and Bremen, among his dying injunctions charged his clergy to 'sing the Catholic faith composed by the blessed Athanasius,'* a plain evidence that at this period the use of the Creed in divine worship was not confined to Gaul. Can it be supposed that the Creed was in an incomplete state at the time when such an injunction as this was given?

7. Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, repeatedly quotes the Creed, and he quotes it as the work of Athanasius. These quotations, with one exception, occur in his treatise, 'De una non trina Deitate,' which was written, according to Sirmond, A.D. 857; and it is on them that Dr. Swainson bases his argument that the Creed was not completed in the year 869, the date to which he appears to assign the whole treatise. It was however the conclusion alone, relating the circumstances of Gothescalcus' death, which took place in the last-mentioned year, that was written after that event. The rest was written some years before, so Hincmar himself states. In his first work on the Athanasian Creed, published in 1870, Dr. Swainson had stated that Hincmar, in the document sent by him to the dying Gothescalcus, recited the Creed "almost verbally" from the third clause to the 27th inclusive. A more careful

* "Ut canerent Fidem Catholicam a beato Athanasio compositam." Rembert, 'Vita Anschar,' p. 237.

study of Hincmar's work appears subsequently to have led him to the conclusion that Hincmar does not quote the clauses intervening between the sixth and the 25th at all, and the discovery suggested a new argument in support of his theory of growth. He now maintains that, inasmuch as Hincmar omits to quote the clauses asserting that there are not three Eternals, but One Eternal; not three Incomprehensibles, but one Incomprehensible; not three Almighties, but One Almighty—and these clauses would have settled the question at issue—they could not have belonged to the Creed at the time when this treatise was written.* But the answer is simple and obvious. These terms were not the subjects of the controversy between Gothescalcus and Hincmar. In the schedule in which the former states his views there is not the slightest reference to any of them.† Gothescalcus would have readily assented to the above-mentioned clauses, and hence it would have been beside the purpose for Hincmar to have alleged them against him. Hincmar's treatise, it must be noted, is a reply to the schedule of Gothescalcus, which it examines sentence by sentence. It would have been equally irrelevant to have quoted against him the clause asserting that "there are not three Gods, but One God," for he expressly repudiated the doctrine of three Gods,

* Letter to 'The Guardian,' March 20, 1872; 'Plea for Time,' etc., pp. 44–46.

† Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. cxxv. pp. 475–479.

as Arianism,* and maintained, "quod naturaliter unus et personaliter trinus est Deus," an expression which Hincmar accepted as orthodox. The subject of the controversy was the phrase "Trina Deitas," occurring in a hymn. This Hincmar considered to be unsound in doctrine, and to involve a division of the divine substance, and he ordered it to be changed into "Sancta Deitas." Gothescalcus, however, adhered to the original term, and defended its orthodoxy. The 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 25th, 26th, and 27th clauses of the Creed were clearly the most pertinent to Hincmar's purpose, and these he quoted repeatedly, and to these in substance he required the assent of his opponent on his death-bed as the condition of his readmission to the Communion of the Church. His treatise also comprises an immense number of citations from the Fathers maintaining the inseparable unity of the Deity or divine nature or substance. It is worthy of observation, that in his quotations from the Creed Hincmar does not adhere to the exact text, but throws in words, as Waterland says —glosses, so to speak—in order to elicit the meaning and make it more obviously pertinent to his purpose. Thus in quoting the fourth clause ("neque confundantes personas neque substantiam separantes"), which he does not less than five times, he invariably inserts after 'personas,' 'ut tres non sint,' or the like; and after 'separantes,' 'ut trina sit,' or the like. Possibly

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. cxxv. p. 589.

Gothescalcus might have accepted this clause without the insertion of the epithet which had been the cause of all the contention between himself and Hincmar. Gothescalcus may have been guilty of the inconsistency with which he was charged, in asserting that the Godhead is personally threefold, 'quod Deitas personaliter est trina,' and yet repudiating tritheism and maintaining 'quod Deus noster unus est.' Like many others, he may not have perceived nor realised the legitimate consequences of his own principles, or his error may have been nothing more serious than confusion of thought and language. However this may be, and it is needless for us to attempt to determine the point, it is clear that to have pressed him with statements of doctrines which, taken by themselves, he would have indorsed without hesitation, or to have required his assent to them, would have been a mere beating of the air; and to argue that because these are not quoted in Hincmar's work they could not have been in the Creed at the time when that work was written, is a most illogical mode of reasoning. Dr. Swainson might almost as well have argued that the 21st and two following clauses, which declare the relations of the three Divine Persons, were not in the Creed when Hincmar wrote, because, not being to his purpose, he does not quote them. Dr. Swainson has omitted to notice that clauses 19 and 20 of the Creed, and that as part of 'the Catholic Faith,' a title commonly applied to it, as we all know,

are quoted in Hincmar's treatise,* only in an amplified form, with words inserted according to his wont so as to adapt it to his purpose, his object being clearly to show the inconsistency of his adversary's position. Now these two clauses, "For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity," etc., are obviously the sequel and summary of the nine preceding clauses, which, according to Dr. Swainson, did not belong to the Creed when Hincmar's treatise was composed. Hence, if the former formed part of it at that time—and this is evident from his quoting them—the latter must have likewise done so. The fact of his quoting the former in such an amplified form confirms us in thinking that it would have been beside his purpose to quote the latter exactly as they are found in the Creed.

It is a very notable circumstance, by the way, that Hincmar should have made such frequent appeals to the clear and express testimony which the Athanasian Creed bears to the fundamental doctrines of all true religion—the unity of the Godhead. This testimony, indeed, is one of the distinctive characteristics of the Creed which is too much overlooked, giving it a peculiar value, and making it the needful complement of the other Creeds which do not expressly assert the Unity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost in the divine substance, though taken together they declare sufficiently the divinity of each of the three Persons and their mutual

* See Appendix, Note H.

relations. It was recently alleged by a Bishop in Convocation * as a serious objection to the public use of the Creed, that to a very great degree it has a Tritheistic effect upon the people. Surely such cannot be the effect of the Creed upon any person who joins in its recitation or listens to it with the slightest degree of attention, the special object of a great portion of it—certainly from clause 6, "But the Godhead," etc., to clause 20, "So are we forbidden," etc.—being evidently to guard against Tritheism. If the Creed were removed from the public offices of the Church, the people would be deprived of a great safeguard against this error.

Further, by way of proving what was the text of the Athanasian Creed in the year 869, Dr. Swainson places side by side a copy of a piece, 'De catholica fide,' from a manuscript at Vienna, a portion of the profession of faith made by Denebert, Bishop of Worcester, A.D. 798, and the profession of faith to which Hincmar required the assent of Gothescalcus on his death-bed. But can these documents altogether, or any one of them separately, be taken as showing the precise form and text of the Creed at any period? In regard to the first of them, it must be dismissed at once as beside the purpose; for Dr. Swainson himself does not pretend to assign a date to it. All he can tell

* Report of the Speech of the Bishop of Exeter, Supplement to 'The Guardian,' May 14, 1873.

us is that the manuscript in which it is found is of the twelfth century, not later, and that the documents contained in the manuscript must be of far more ancient date.* Upon such vague data he adduces this document as determining the form and text of the Creed in the year 869. Or can the other two documents together determine this? But how is this possible, when one of them dates seventy years earlier? It must be observed, too, that the profession of Denebert quotes the 1st and also the 21st and two following clauses—"The Father is made of none," etc.—to which there is not the slightest reference in Hincmar's profession; so that if the latter is to be taken as the true text of the Creed in the year 869, the Creed must have lost these clauses which belonged to it in the time of Denebert. And yet this was the age when, according to Dr. Swainson, the Creed was in a process of growth! Nor can either of these documents be relied on as evidence in regard to the form and text of the Creed at the respective dates to which they belong. With respect to Hincmar's profession, this will be at once apparent to any one who examines it with a mind unbiassed by a theory.† Hincmar does not call this *the faith of Athanasius*, though Dr. Swainson says that he does. He cannot be said strictly even to quote the clauses of the Creed which he finds most pertinent

* 'Plea for Time,' etc., pp. 39–41.

† For Hincmar's profession, see Appendix, Note I.

(the 3rd to the 6th, and the 25th to the 27th inclusive); he simply adapts them to his purpose, adding words of his own, and amplifying them. It is impossible to doubt that when Hincmar drew up this profession of faith which he offered for the acceptance of Gothescalcus, he had the Athanasian Creed before him, or at least was perfectly familiar with it. It therefore affords clear evidence of the existence of the Creed at the time; but for determining the text, what the Creed did then contain and what it did not, it can be of no use. It introduces words which certainly were not then in the Creed, and omits much more which it is equally certain was contained in it. The same very nearly is true of Denebert's profession. It yields unquestionable evidence of the existence of the Creed at the time when it was drawn up, for it incorporates several clauses, more in fact than are adapted by the profession of Hincmar; and it gives them too, without however mentioning the source from whence they were drawn, in the form in which they are usually found in copies of the Creed. But when Dr. Swainson argues, as he does apparently, that this document must be received as the counterpart of what the Creed was in the first half of the ninth century and even later, and that the latter during that period contained nothing more, or at least very little more, than the former, he attempts to prove what he cannot prove, indeed what may be positively disproved. But we shall have occasion to revert

to this point more fully when we come to consider Denebert's profession in the order of time.

Dr. Swainson concludes his speculations founded upon Hincmar's profession and Denebert's and the document of unknown date from the Vienna MS., 1261, by the enunciation of his theory respecting the composition or completion of the Athanasian Creed in its present form. It is this—that down to the year 870 the two great divisions of the Creed relating to the Trinity and the Incarnation existed only as separate fragments, neither of them having attained to their present form and dimensions, but each undergoing a process of formation; that in Denebert's profession or the undated document from Vienna we have the first division as it existed before that year, and that in the Colbertine or Treves manuscript we have what was the second division during the same period; that in the above-mentioned year Hincmar completed the two divisions by inserting expressions from St. Augustine, and united them into one document, removing also the concluding clauses, and substituting that which is familiar to us as terminating the Creed.* It is as fanciful a theory as Mr. Ffoulkes's, and equally unfounded upon fact. Is it supported by any historical evidence, by so much as a hint from any writer of the middle ages? Did the idea ever suggest itself to any one before, that Hincmar had a hand in the composition

* 'Plea for Time,' etc., pp. 45–47.

of the Athanasian Creed? Supposing the Creed to have been in the incomplete state in 869 described by Dr. Swainson, and to have been brought to completion in 870 or 871, on what grounds does he assign this work to Hincmar rather than to any one else? Is he the only man of the age who could have done it? Dr. Swainson replies that Hincmar, the leading French ecclesiastic of his day, was villain enough to perpetrate the deed. The man who put out the eyes of his nephew, and took care that Gothescalcus should be flogged for his opinions, and refused to the same unhappy person the last sacraments of the Church, this was just the man to put the finishing stroke to the Athanasian Creed! To not a few this may appear a strange conclusion to draw from such premisses, even if correct. But are they correct? Was Hincmar indeed such a monster of cruelty as Dr. Swainson represents him? In regard to the only serious charge alleged against him, there appears to be little doubt of his innocence. Pagi remarks, that had he put out the eyes of his nephew, the crime would never have escaped the censure of his numerous enemies, least of all of his most bitter enemy, that very nephew, who in his formal complaint, laid before the Pope, omitted nothing which he could possibly produce to his uncle's prejudice.* Prichard, in his life of Hincmar, asserts it to have been the act of Charles the Bald, who thus punished

* 'Pagii Critica,' in 'Baronnii Annales,' an. 876, xv.

Hincmar of Laon for abetting and encouraging his brother, Louis of Germany, in the invasion of his dominions. That Charles, who had put out the eyes of his own son, should have inflicted a similar punishment upon another person, would be no subject of surprise. In the two other instances in which Hincmar is accused of treating Gothescalcus with undue severity, it cannot fail to be observed that he was only acting ministerially, and carrying into execution the laws of the Church. It was not Hincmar, but the Synod of Quiercy, over which he presided, that condemned Gothescalcus to be flogged, in accordance with the rule of the Benedictine order, to which the latter belonged. Gothescalcus "not only refused to recant his errors," says Mr. Prichard, "but when unable to give a rational account of his belief, broke into abusive language against his judges, unmindful of the presence of the king or of his metropolitan." As he died excommunicate, and without the slightest sign of repentance, it was simply impossible for Hincmar, without infringing the canons, to allow him to be buried with the offices of the Church. The man who, when he heard that Gothescalcus was drawing near to death, offered to him once more the opportunity of recanting, with the promise, on condition of his doing so, of absolution and restoration to Church communion, cannot be justly charged with unrelenting harshness. Nor can we deem him an uncharitable bigot who quotes with approval

the sentiment of Leo the Great, that it is not necessary for us to decide upon the merits and acts of those to whom, dying excommunicate, the Church refuses her last offices; because our Lord has reserved for His own righteous judgment all such cases as are beyond the ministry of His priesthood upon earth. Hincmar quoted this with reference to the case of Gothescalcus.* Possibly if Dr. Swainson sees reason to form a more lenient judgment of the conduct and character of Hincmar of Rheims, he may acquit him of the monstrous crime of having completed the Athanasian Creed.

The feebleness and inconclusiveness of Dr. Swainson's argument founded upon Hincmar's quotations from the Athanasian Creed are sufficient proof of the unsoundness of his theory. In addition, conclusive proof to the same effect is supplied by the evidence of the Creed's existence in its entirety prior to the date assigned by him for its completion. Some evidence of this we have already noticed as derived from Adalbert's profession, and Dr. Swainson's own admission that the Creed is found in Psalters written in 870 or 871. Accumulated evidence of it will meet us as we advance, in the facts that it was sung in the offices of the Church at the end of the eighth century, possibly earlier; that it is the subject of a commentary written certainly before the ninth century, and probably as

* 'De Una non Trina Deitate,' Migne, tom. cxxv. p. 617.

early as the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh; and that it is found in its present complete state in manuscripts which competent authorities pronounce to be of an earlier date than the ninth century. But of course Dr. Swainson does not admit that any document which can be proved to be derived from a period previous to the year 870 contains the Creed in its entirety.

8. In his work on Predestination, written A.D. 856, prior to that 'De Una non Trina Deitate,' Hincmar clearly refers to the latter portion of the Athanasian Creed: "Athanasius *in symbolo* dicens se credere in Christum, præmissis aliis, assumptum in cœlis, sedere in dextera Patris, inde venturum judicare vivos et mortuos expectamus, in hujus morte et sanguine remissionem peccatorum consecuturi."* Hincmar, in accordance with his usual practice, does not adhere to the exact text of the Creed; but the allusion to it is obvious enough, and it is alone a sufficient disproof of Dr. Swainson's theory; for it shows that some years before the time when, if that theory is true, Hincmar completed the Creed, in particular by adding the latter portion, which relates to the Incarnation, this very portion was regarded and referred to by Hincmar himself as part and parcel of the Creed. Besides, would Hincmar have described it as a "symbolum," had it existed only in that fragmentary, imperfect

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. cxxv. p. 374.

state which according to Dr. Swainson it was passing through at the time when he wrote his work on Predestination? This title surely indicates that it was then a complete whole. Dr. Swainson is apparently so pressed by these difficulties, that he endeavours to evade them by hazarding the conjecture that Hincmar is here referring, not to the Athanasian Creed, but to that of Constantinople.* The Creed of Constantinople described as "the symbol of Athanasius!" The learned Professor has failed to produce a single instance where it is so described, or the slightest evidence that it was so regarded in the time of Hincmar. When a man has recourse to such a desperate shift in order to maintain a thesis, it is a plain proof of the weakness of his case.

9. At a Synod held at Rheims, A.D. 852, and presided over by Hincmar, several Capitula were enacted, the first of which requires all presbyters to learn the exposition of the Apostles' Creed and of the Lord's Prayer; also to be able to recite by memory and distinctly the preface of the canon and the canon itself (apparently of the Mass); and to know how to chant the Psalms by heart, with the customary Canticles; and concludes: "Also let each one commit to memory the treatise of Athanasius concerning the Faith, commencing, 'Whosoever will be saved,' and understand its meaning, and be able to render it in common words;"

* 'Plea for Time,' etc., p. 77.

which Waterland supposes to mean the vulgar tongue.* How does Dr. Swainson square this with his theory? He is silent upon the point. He will scarcely venture to assert that the Creed of Constantinople is meant by the Treatise of Athanasius on the Faith, commencing "Whosoever will be saved." Or will he seriously maintain that this treatise, comprising evidently such a complete exposition of the Faith that Hincmar required every one of his presbyters to learn it by heart, and understand it, and explain it to the people, was nothing more than Denebert's profession of faith respecting the Holy Trinity?

10. In a manuscript in the Vienna Imperial Library, described by Michael Denis, there is, *inter alia*, a copy of the Athanasian Creed which has escaped the notice of Montfaucon and Waterland, and, I believe, of every other writer upon the Creed. The MS. is stated by him to be of the ninth century, and beautifully written. First it gives some works of St. Isidore of Seville, and then, on folio 83, it proceeds—"*Incipit de inde*" (de Fide?) "*catholica athanasi.*" This is followed immediately by the Nicene Creed, and then, after a short doctrinal statement of the Unity in Trinity, comes the Athanasian Creed, which is succeeded by the fragment of a commentary upon it, to be noticed by-and-by.

* "Necnon et sermonem Athanasii de Fide, cujus initium est: 'Quicunque vult salvus esse,' memoriæ quisque commendet, et sensum illius intelligat, et verbis communibus enuntiare queat." Capitula Presbyteris data. Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. cxxv. p. 773.

Denis observes that this MS. ought to be added to the testimonies collected by Montfaucon in his Diatribe respecting the Quicunque.* Certainly it has not received the attention it deserves. Being assigned to the ninth century, it may fairly be set down as having been written about the middle of that century, and hence supplies a probable evidence of the falsity of Dr. Swainson's theory. But the blunder of the scribe—*inde* for *fide*—appears clearly to indicate that he was copying from some older manuscript, which must also have contained the Athanasian Creed. It may be remarked that, so far as can be judged from Denis's account —and he seems to enumerate all the contents—this manuscript includes no document which can be proved to be later than the time of Isidore of Seville, or the early part of the seventh century.

11. It has been already mentioned that the Athanasian Creed appears in Psalters which Dr. Swainson believes to have been written A.D. 870, or very shortly after. One of these is the famous Vienna Psalter, which we shall have occasion to notice by-and-by. The other is the equally famous Psalter or Prayer Book of Charles the Bald, the property of the National Library at Paris. And Dr. Swainson asserts that "the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald, which contains the Creed [*i.e.* the Athanasian Creed], professes to have been written in

* Denis, 'Codices Manuscripti Theologici Bibliothecæ Palatinæ Vindobonusis,' vol. i. par. 1, Vindobonæ, 1793, pp. 962–966.

the year 870 or 871."* Naturally assuming that he would not have made this assertion without good ground, it was with no little surprise that, on turning to the account of the MS. in Silvestre's great work, I found the following information: "In these litanies" (viz., those contained in this Prayer Book) "Charles prays to God to protect himself and Hermintruda, his first wife, to whom he was married 14 December, 842, and who died 5 October, A.D. 869. This manuscript must therefore have been executed in the interval between these two dates. In his praying for his wife, Charles prays also for progeny; but this peculiarity is a formula rather than expression of a date. Hermintruda, in fact, bore him seven children; and if this prayer is to be interpreted literally, it would fix the date of the manuscript between the years 842 and 846, the period when his eldest son, Louis le Begne, was born."† Thus this manuscript must have been written, at the latest, in the year 868, or before October of the year following, and could not have been executed, as Dr. Swainson represents, in 870 or 871. This difference of dates, though trifling, is really fatal to his theory as it appears in its last and most definite phase, according to which the Athanasian Creed was in an imperfect and fragmentary condition in the year 869, and did not receive 'the finishing move'

* 'Plea for Delay,' etc. p. 46.

† 'Universal Palæography,' by M. J. B. Silvestre, translated and edited by Sir F. Madden, vol. i. pp. 339-341.

which resulted in its completion until the following year, 870.* But in all probability the MS. was written before 868; and, moreover, I cannot help suspecting that the prayer for progeny is significant of date, and should be understood literally, my reason being that another Prayer Book of Charles the Bald is extant, also containing a Litany, wherein Charles prays for Hermindruda, or rather Urmindrudis, his wife *and children*, but *does not pray for progeny*—"Ut Urmindrudim conjugem nostram cum liberis nostris conservare digneris, Te rogamus." The difference in the two petitions seems clearly indicative of different periods in the life of Charles.

The last-named book was in the Abbey of Frauenmunster, Zurich, till the Reformation, and is said to be now in the Imperial Library at Vienna: it was printed at Ingoldstadt in 1583. That at Paris belonged formerly to the Dean and Chapter of Metz, by whom it was presented, in 1674, to the Minister Colbert. The two manuscripts therefore have distinct histories. Both are written in golden letters. The Paris volume is described in Sylvestre's book as priceless.

The Paris manuscript must be the same, I presume, which is described by Montfaucon, and after him by Waterland, as "Colbertinus, No. 1339," and as having once belonged to the Emperor Charles the Bald, and containing the Athanasian Creed. I can only account

* 'Plea for Time,' etc. pp. 44–46.

for Dr. Swainson's mistake in asserting that it "professes to have been written in 870 or 871" by supposing that he confounded it with the Gospels of Charles the Bald, a volume which was written in 870, as it is expressly stated in some verses at the end. In much the same way he speaks of Venantius Fortunatus dying about 570, that date being suggested to his mind in connection with Fortunatus by the fact of Waterland having fixed upon it as the period when Fortunatus composed his commentary.

12. The Psalter of Charles the Bald was not the only Psalter written by order, or in honour of a Prince of his house, and containing the Athanasian Creed. In the interesting narrative of the literary travels of the two Benedictines, Martene and Durand, there is a description of a very beautiful Psalter written in letters of gold, which was found by them in the Abbey of St. Hubert, in the forest of Ardennes, at the time of their visit as in former times, one of the most illustrious and considerable establishments belonging to the Order.* This Psalter was presented, they say, to the Abbey by the Emperor Lothaire, the elder brother of Charles the Bald, and was, in their estimation, the most precious of its precious literary treasures. At the commencement was a portrait of Lothaire, of which a copy has been preserved by the care of the good Benedictines, crowned

* 'Voyage Litteraire de deux Religieux Benedictins,' tom. ii. pp. 132-144. Paris, 1724.

and seated upon a throne, his right hand resting upon a staff or sceptre, his left holding the hilt of the sword with which he had been girt for the defence of the Church, his jewelled mantle fastened upon the right shoulder by a brooch in the form of a fleur-de-lis. I have a reason for mentioning these particulars, as will appear by-and-by. The portrait of Lothaire was followed by some encomiastic verses in his honour. The second leaf was occupied by a representation of David, with some verses subjoined; and the third by another of St. Jerome, having also some verses added. Then on the fourth leaf were an ancient form of general confession, and a prayer to be said before reciting the Psalter. Then came the preface of St. Jerome, written in letters of gold; and next the Psalter, with the title, 'Incipit liber Psalmorum, emandatus a B. Hieronymo Presbytero,' which shows it to have been a Gallican Psalter; and next the Canticles usually sung after the Psalter, the *Te Deum*, 'le symbole *Quicunque* qui est attribué à S. Athanase,' the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed. All this also was written in letters of gold. Some prayers were added, written in a character almost as ancient as the document itself.

If we knew no more of this Psalter than that it was written by order of Lothaire, or was presented by him to the Abbey of St. Hubert, it would be evident that it must have been written some time before his death, which took place in the year 855. But some of the

encomiastic verses enable us to arrive at a much closer approximation to its date. They are as follows:

> "Inclyta Cæsareum diffundit fama triumphum
> Hlotharii, celebrat quam maximus ambitus orbis.
> Hunc oriens recolit, mittens veneranter Achivos,
> Qui veniam curvi poscant et fœdera pacis.
> Syderis occidui populi sua jura tremiscunt,
> Et tanto gaudent proni se subdere regi."

In the summer of the year 833, Lothaire, supported by his brothers Pippin, king of Aquitaine, and Louis, king of Bavaria, and by a large body of powerful ecclesiastics and nobles, who had been irritated by the weakness and disorders of the existing government, appeared in arms against his father, the Emperor Louis the Meek or Pious. The father, finding himself deserted by the bulk of his own followers and army, was eventually compelled to surrender himself a prisoner to his son without striking a blow. This bloodless victory must be the triumph of world-wide fame here alluded to. It was an event of such importance, at least in the opinion of the chief promoters of the change, that it was regarded as the commencement of a new era. Lothaire, who had been previously associated with his father in the empire, now became sole emperor by his father's deposition, and in that character he is expressly recognised in a formal statement of the Bishops, enumerating the offences committed by Louis, which was drawn up in the following October at the diet of

Compiegne, and in another paper drawn up on the same occasion by Agobard, Bishop of Lyons. In both these documents the current year is described as the first year of the empire of Lothaire.* Hence, supposing this to be the period when the Psalter was written, there is a peculiar significance in its applying to him the title of Cæsar (his victory is 'Cæsareus triumphus'), and in its investing his portrait with the character and emblems of monarchy. Thus for a time Lothaire was the supreme head of the vast dominions which had formed the empire of his illustrious grandfather Charlemagne, and all *the West*, with the exception of Aquitaine, was subject to his immediate rule. In this capacity he presided over the diet or national assembly, already mentioned, which was held at Compiegne in October of the same year, where, we are informed by the 'Bertinian Annals,' "Bishops, Abbots, Counts, and the whole people, presented to him their annual gifts, and promised to be faithful to him. There also" (and this is particularly deserving of notice) "ambassadors from Constantinople, who had been sent to treat with his father, came to Lothaire with epistles and offerings."† The allusions to both these circumstances, I may say the descriptions of them in the above verses, are clear enough, though it may be the picture is somewhat highly coloured by a

* 'Baronii Annales,' an. 833; and 'Bouquet Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France,' tom. vi. p. 246. Paris, 1749.

† 'Bouquet,' tom. vi. p. 197.

touch of adulation. The allusion to the latter is, to my mind, conclusive in regard to the date of the Psalter. And while the verses may be thus distinctly explained by reference to the events of this particular epoch in Lothaire's life, they cannot be applied to any period of his subsequent career. Never afterwards did he actually rule over the *western* portions, strictly speaking, of the empire; never afterwards, so far as we know, did he receive an embassy from the Greek Emperor. His triumph was of short-lived duration. Early in the following year the tables were turned, the popular feeling veered round; Pippin of Aquitaine, and Louis of Bavaria, alarmed by the formidable dimensions which their elder brother's power seemed to be assuming, changed sides, and took up the cause of their father; the old emperor recovered his liberty and his empire; and in the event Lothaire, though forgiven by his father, was sent by him into Italy, and forbidden to leave it without his permission. In 835 Louis the Meek made a new division of his empire, by virtue of which Lothaire's authority was confined to Italy, and the title of emperor taken from him, the rest being divided between the three other sons, Pippin, Louis, and Charles the Bald, the youngest; but in 839, Louis, desirous to conciliate Lothaire, unsettled this arrangement, and divided his empire by a line following the course of the Meuse and the Rhone, assigning as Charles' portion the countries lying to the west of this boundary; as

Lothaire's, those to the east. These frequent re-divisions of the empire were, by the way, a perpetual cause of trouble during the reign of Louis the Meek. In 840 he died, and his death was followed by a civil war between his sons, which culminated in the great battle of Fontenay, wherein Lothaire was *defeated* by his brothers Louis and Charles. By the treaty of Verdun, in 843, the empire of Charlemagne was finally divided between these three brothers, Charles taking the portion to the west of the Meuse, the Saone, and the Rhone; Louis, all to the east of the Rhine; while to Lothaire fell the long strip lying between the territories of his two brothers, together with Italy. Lothaire, while retaining the imperial dignity which he claimed after his father's death, acknowledged the independence of his brothers' kingdoms. This settlement continued undisturbed upon the whole during the remainder of Lothaire's life.

The account of this Psalter by the two Benedictines supplies another indication of its date and origin, confirmatory of the conclusion to which the laudatory verses so distinctly point. The third set of verses represents the document as written in veneration for Lothaire.

It may possibly be suggested that it was the younger Lothaire in whose honour this Psalter was written, and who presented it to the Abbey of St. Hubert—the Lothaire who died in the year 869. But this hypothesis

is precluded by the inapplicability of the verses to his circumstances, and especially by the fact that he never was emperor. The eldest son, Louis king of Italy, succeeded to the empire on the death of Lothaire the elder, and indeed had been associated in it before his father's death. Lothaire the younger succeeded his father only in the kingdom of the provinces situated between the Meuse and the Rhine. We must suppose too that Martene had a reason for asserting that the Psalter was given to the Abbey by the Emperor Lothaire. But whether it was so given by him or not, the verses are conclusive as to its date. Or it may be suggested that possibly the Athanasian Creed (which by the way appears to have been inserted after the Te Deum, and before the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed) was a later addition to the document. But there are no grounds for such a hypothesis. On the contrary, we have reason for believing that this was not the case. For the Benedictines, after stating that the Canticles, with the Te Deum, Quicunque, Lord's Prayer, and Apostles' Creed, were as well as the Psalter all written in letters of gold, go on to say of some prayers which followed immediately after, that they were written 'in a character *almost as ancient* as the manuscript,' clearly implying that the preceding part was all in a writing of the same date. When they were thus particular in noticing the difference of date between the subjoined prayers and the foregoing portion, can we imagine that

had there been a similar difference of date between the documents comprised in that portion, between the Psalter and the Canticles, or between the Canticles and what followed, including the Athanasian Creed, they would have omitted to notice that likewise? Impossible. Or can we accept the only alternative supposition, that such a difference existed without being discovered by persons who were so familiar with ancient documents as Martene and his companion, persons who had examined the manuscripts in half the monasteries of France, and a good many in the Low Countries? This is also impossible.

Waterland takes no notice of this Psalter; nor, indeed, could he have been aware of its existence at the time when he wrote his work on the Athanasian Creed. For it was during their last tour, in the year 1718, that the Benedictines visited the Abbey of St. Hubert; and the second volume of their travels, which contains the narrative of this tour, was not published till 1724. Waterland's work appeared in the previous year, 1723; at any rate, that is the date of his dedicatory epistle. In fact the account of this document to which I have drawn attention, as a testimony to the antiquity and reception of the Creed, has hitherto, so far as I am aware, entirely escaped notice. It may therefore be regarded as a new witness on the subject.

It would be superfluous to dwell upon the additional evidence thus furnished of the unsoundness of Dr.

Swainson's theory, and indeed of Mr. Ffoulkes' also. There is every reason to believe that the Creed was contained in the Psalter of Lothaire in its entirety, no instance being known of its being contained in a Psalter except in its entirety; and its appearance in a Psalter proves for it a pre-existence of some duration, as we have already remarked.

It is an interesting feature in the history of the Athanasian Creed, that it is known to have had a place in three Psalters certainly, written in connection with Carlovingian princes, and all documents of the same sumptuous character. Two of these are in existence at the present day—that of Charles the Bald, and that written by order of Charlemagne, the Vienna Psalter, which has yet to be noticed; of the third, as we have now seen, we have an authentic record that it was in existence in the last century. Who can say that it is not still in existence, preserved in some hidden corner, and destined to come to light at a future day? And if the truth were known, no doubt it would be found that these are but a few among many similar Psalters likewise containing the Creed, and written for princes of the same dynasty, who were great promoters of sacred learning and literature. No one can suppose that these were the only documents of their kind extant in the age which produced them. They are simply specimens of manuals of devotion at that time in common use.

13. Accordingly we have evidence that the Athanasian

Creed was generally admitted into Psalters at the period when these two Psalters which have been just noticed were written, and had been so some time previously, in a letter from Florus the Deacon to the Abbot Hyldrad, first edited by Cardinal Mai in 1828, from a manuscript in the Vatican library.*

The writer of this letter, several of whose works are extant, flourished from about A.D. 830 to the middle of the century. He was a learned man, and it appears that Hyldrad had sent him a Psalter, with the request that he would correct it. Florus in his reply dwells upon the difficulty of the task, arising from the great and increasing number of faulty copies; still, he had done his best, and had collated Jerome's translation, and the Septuagint, and the original Hebrew. He then gives some instances of various readings, both in the titles of the Psalms and their text. He adds that he was aware of Hyldrad's wish to write a new codex of the Psalms, and tenders some advice upon the subject. First, in regard to the mode of writing, the lines must be kept distinct, a good interval and margin being left; and above all, the obelisks and asterisks must not be omitted. Then, in regard to the matter to be admitted, he proceeds as follows (the passage I give with the spelling and punctuation just as it is in Mai): "Psalmis vero sola cantica copulentur. Hymnis, symbolum, oratio

* Mai, 'Scriptorum veterum nova Collectio,' tom. iii. pars. 11, pp. 251-255. Rome, 1828.

dominica, Fides." (this full stop must be an error of the press) "compunctum, orationes, et si quæ sunt alia, libello altero conscribantur. Quanquam a nobis ex his omnibus solum symbolum, oratio evangelica, fides catholica, atque hymni correcti sunt; reliqua vel superstitiosa vel falsa vel parum necessaria judicantibus; unde, et si vultis, poteritis Psalmis cl., canticis propheticis, evangelicis duobus, ea, quæ supra nos correxisse diximus, eo, quo a nobis commemorata sunt, ordine, copulare. Alia abicite, ac velut quasdam vestri sordes psalterii fullonis vecte decutite; ut libelli illius corpus, omni labe detersa, purum et nitidum resplendeat." That by 'Fides' and 'fides catholica' in this passage is meant the Athanasian Creed is obvious, each of them being distinguished from 'Symbolum' or the Apostles' Creed. What else could be meant, for it is very unusual to find either the Nicene or the Constantinopolitan Creed subjoined to a Psalter with the Hymns and Canticles? Moreover, the title 'Fides Catholica' is commonly applied in Psalters to the Athanasian Creed, and sometimes alone, though more frequently with the addition 'Sancti Athanasii' or the like. It is also described as 'Fides Sancti Athanasii' or the like.

From Florus' letter we gather that in his time the contents of Psalters were of a mixed character; at least, they were so in his estimation, some superstitious, spurious, and unnecessary matter having been introduced. In his anxiety to exclude all that was

questionable, he recommends Hyldrad in the first place to subjoin nothing in his codex to the Psalms but the scriptural hymns—'Cantica'—and to relegate all the other matter usually annexed to a Psalter to a separate volume. However, he suggests an alternative plan, which he seems to prefer. He would distinguish the sound metal from the dross. He had therefore selected the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Athanasian Creed, and the Hymns (doubtless the 'Te Deum' and 'Gloria in Excelsis'), and corrected their texts. These Hyldrad might, if he thought fit, subjoin to the 150 Psalms and the Canticles from Scripture. All the rest he urges Hyldrad absolutely to reject, so that his book, being purged from every stain, might be resplendent, as a bright model of purity.

That the Athanasian Creed, with the Apostles' Creed and Lord's Prayer and Hymns, were found in Psalters generally in Florus' time is evident, first, from his primary recommendation that they should be included in a separate volume, together with the objectionable and useless matter. Such a recommendation to separate them in this particular case from the Psalter implies that generally they were annexed to it, and would have been needless, unless such had been the custom. This is evident also from his alternative advice; viz., *to reject and shake off* all besides. What was thus rejected and shaken off from the Psalter must have been previously attached to it, and what was not thus rejected must

have been simply retained in its usual position. Throughout, Florus' advice is based upon the assumption that there was nothing novel nor unusual in the admission of the *Quicunque* to a Psalter. And, moreover, the presence in his day of unsound and spurious matter in Psalters, side by side with what was genuine and sound (and in this category he places the Athanasian Creed), proves that the latter had been there some considerable time before. The latter would necessarily have been introduced before the former. The existence of counterfeit canons and gospels implies the pre-existence of the authentic originals.

It is not unworthy of note that Florus, by specifying so particularly the 150 Psalms, seems to include the so-called Goliath Psalm among the documents which it was necessary to reject from Psalters.

This letter furnishes another testimony to the antiquity and reception of the Athanasian Creed, which has hitherto escaped notice. My attention was drawn to it by an article in a recent number of the 'Month.'

14. After the death of Felix of Orgel, which took place A.D. 818, a document was found among his papers reaffirming all his errors. Agobard, Bishop of Lyons, in consequence composed a treatise consisting mainly of citations from the Fathers, with the view of thus confuting the errors of Felix. The third section asserts the necessity of a belief in the Catholic Faith in the very language of the Creed: "But he who does not

condescend to read what proceeds from ourselves, may rest satisfied with the judgments of the holy Fathers here annexed, because the blessed Athanasius says, Except a man keep the Catholic Faith whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly." * It is evident, from Agobard's quoting these words as the words of Athanasius, that he quoted them from the Creed which was then universally believed to be the work of that Father. In his first publication on the Athanasian Creed, Dr. Swainson argued against the authority and antiquity of this clause of the Creed, and apparently maintained that it had not been introduced into the Creed so late as the death of Gothescalcus, in 869, because it was not quoted in the profession of faith to which Gothescalcus was required by Hincmar to give assent. He must have overlooked at the time this quotation of the clause by Agobard, made in or about 819. It is, however, noticed by him in his last publication; and probably, as the clause finds a place in the undated document from Vienna MS. 1261, which he gives as one of his types of the state of the Creed in the early part of the ninth century, he has seen reason to alter his opinion in regard to the time of its insertion in the Creed. The identical language of this second clause is employed by Hincmar in his treatise,

* "Beatus Athanasius ait, Fidem Catholicam nisi quis integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in æternum peribit."—Agobardus adv. Felicem, 3. Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. civ.

'De Una non Trina Deitate,' in reference to the necessity of a belief in the Faith as defined and affirmed by the Councils of the Church, but it is not quoted by him as from Athanasius or his Creed.*

15. About this time, or a little earlier, Heito, or Hatto, or Hetto, or Ahyto (the name appears under these various forms), Bishop of Basle, issued a Capitulare for his diocese, the fourth Capitulum being, "That the Faith of the holy Athanasius be learnt by priests, and recited by heart every Lord's-day at prime."† This clear testimony to the fact that the Creed was recited in the offices of the Church in the early part of the ninth century, and consequently to its existence in a complete form at that period, appears to be very perplexing to Dr. Swainson, for he suggests a doubt as to the age of the author of this Capitulare. "There was a man," he says, "of the name of Hatto, to whom Regino of Prum dedicated his collection of Canons about the year 900,"‡ implying that this man might have been the author. But was he Bishop of Basle? or did he ever issue a Capitulare? Indeed it would be as reasonable to question the veracity of the existence of this Hatto, or Heito, Bishop of Basle, in the commencement of the ninth century, notwithstanding the variety of form in

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. cxxv. p. 561.

† "Quarto ut fides sancti Athanasii a sacerdotibus discatur, et ex corde omni die Dominico ad horam primam recitetur."—Harduin, vol. iv. p. 1241; also Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. cxv. p. 11.

‡ 'Plea for Time,' etc. p. 76.

which his name is found, as it would be to doubt the existence of Charlemagne. He was evidently one of the most eminent men of his day. He is said to have been appointed Abbot of Augia or Reichenau and Bishop of Basle in 806, and in 811 was sent by Charlemagne on an embassy to Constantinople, and in the same year his name appears among the witnesses to Charlemagne's will, mentioned in the life of that monarch by Eginhard. He retired from his Abbacy and Bishopric in 822, but did not die till 836. He wrote an account of his voyage to Constantinople, and of the vision of Wetin, in prose, both of which are lost.* Dr. Swainson has another difficulty with regard to this order of Hatto. It seems to him improbable that the clergy would have been required to learn by heart so long a document as the Athanasian Creed. But in the Capitulare of Hincmar, drawn up A.D. 852, and in Capitulares of Charlemagne, dated A.D. 802 and 803,† the clergy were required to know the whole Psalter by heart; and in an age when this was required of the clergy it would not have been considered a very severe tax upon their memories to require them to recite by heart the Athanasian Creed. At the Council of Friuli, held under Paulinus, as president, A.D. 796, a profession of faith, considerably exceeding the Athanasian Creed in length, was adopted, and all priests and ecclesiastics of every order were enjoined

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. cxv. p. 11.
† Ibid, tom. xcvii. pp. 247 and 275.

to learn it by heart, a warning being added, that disobedience would not go unpunished.* Considerably earlier than this, at the eighth Council of Toledo, A.D. 653, it was expressly provided that no one should be henceforth admitted to any degree of ecclesiastical dignity unless he knew perfectly the whole Psalter, with the addition of the customary canticles and hymns and the office for Baptism; and that those who had been admitted without such necessary knowledge should forthwith set to work to acquire it, or be made to do so by their superiors.

14. It was probably after the Council of Aix, held in November, 809, at which the doctrine of the Procession was discussed, that Theodulph, Bishop of Orleans, composed his treatise on the subject by direction of Charlemagne, to whom also it is dedicated. This treatise consists of quotations from the Fathers in support of the Latin doctrine, and among them Theodulph cites several clauses of the Athanasian Creed, from the 21st, "The Father is made of none," etc., to the 28th, "He therefore that will be saved," etc., inclusive.† It is observable that both Theodulph and Hincmar not only quote the Creed as the work of Athanasius, but also attribute to that Father the work on the Trinity which is commonly assigned to Vigilius Thapsensis, repeatedly quoting it under the name of the former. They seem to have used the same family of manuscripts.

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. xcix. p. 295. † Ibid, tom. cv. p. 247.

Theodulph's quotation from the Creed supplies further evidence of the untenable nature of Dr. Swainson's theory. It gives the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd clauses, which are found only in one of the three documents which represent, in Dr. Swainson's view, the state of the Creed at this period; viz., Denebert's profession. It gives also the 24th, "So there is one Father, etc.," to which there is no reference whatever in a single one of them. It gives the 27th, "So that in all things," etc., which is absent from one; viz., Vienna MS. 1261. And it gives the 28th, "He therefore that will," etc., which is entirely absent from two; viz., Denebert's profession and Hincmar, and appears in the third under a somewhat different form.

15. Another treatise on the Procession is extant, which was in all probability written about the same time as that of Theodulph, being likewise dedicated to Charlemagne, by whose command it was composed. Sirmond considered the authorship uncertain; but since his time it has been assigned to Alcuin on the authority of a MS. of the ninth century, although no mention of any such work as written by him is made by any of those who enumerate his writings, and the style is somewhat unlike his.* Its genuineness, therefore, is not clearly established; but if Alcuin's, being dedicated to Charles, as Emperor, it must have been written some time between Christmas 800 and the year 804, in which Alcuin died, as has been already remarked. In this

* 'Monitum Prævium.'—Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. ci. pp. 63, 64.

treatise the Creed is twice quoted as the work of Athanasius: "The blessed Athanasius, the most reverend Bishop of the city of Alexandria, ... in the 'Exposition of the Catholic Faith' which that eminent doctor himself composed, and which the universal Church confesses, declares the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, thus saying, 'The Father is made of none,'" etc. Here the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd clauses are quoted.* The other passage where the Creed is quoted is not noticed by Waterland, who acknowledges that he gives the first solely upon the credit of Sirmond, thereby showing that he was himself unacquainted with the work. "For such as the Father is, as the blessed Athanasius, Bishop of the city of Alexandria, testifies, such also is the Son, such also is the Holy Spirit; for in this Trinity none is before or after," etc. The quotation is continued to the end of the 28th clause.†

Here we have another clause quoted; viz., the seventh, which is not found in any one of Dr. Swainson's three typical documents. This he has completely overlooked; for he denies that this clause is quoted or even referred to in the early part of the ninth century.‡ It will be observed that, with the exception of the seventh clause, the rest of the Creed which is quoted by this treatise is quoted also by Theodulph; the 24th clause, which

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. ci. p. 73. † Ibid, p. 82.
‡ 'Plea for Time,' etc. pp. 42, 43.

is cited by him, it passes over. So that it furnishes corroborative, as well as additional, proof of the unsoundness of Dr. Swainson's theory. It is impossible to pass from our notice of this treatise without inviting attention to the evidence which it affords of the extensive reception of the Athanasian Creed at the commencement of the ninth century. It describes the Creed as an "exposition of the Catholic Faith . . . *which the Universal Church professes.*" Now if the Creed had been at that time either the imperfect fragment, the undeveloped bud, which one of our theorists represents it, or the recent forgery which the other asserts it to have been then, is it credible that this description would have been applied to it?

18. In the year 809 the Latin monks of mount Olivet, at Jerusalem, wrote to the Pope respecting a dispute which had arisen between themselves and some Greek monks at Jerusalem, headed by John of the monastery of St. Sabas. The letter alludes especially to the introduction of the Filioque into the Creed, which appears to have been hotly debated between the contending parties, and adduces several authorities in support of the assertion of the Double Procession, among them the Athanasian Creed, which it entitles "Fides S. Athanasii."

This event, by the way, appears in the pages of Mr. Ffoulkes with an entirely false colouring. He states that disturbance was provoked by the Latin monks "singing the interpolated Creed in the hearing of the

Greeks;" that "it is more than probable this course had been marked out for them beforehand by their Imperial Master;" and, further, that it was in consequence of instructions from Charlemagne that they referred to the Athanasian Creed in their letter to the Pope.* These assertions are simply unhistorical. So far as we are able to judge from the letter of the Latin monks, which is our only source of information on the subject, the quarrel was none of their seeking. John of the monastery of St. Sabas, they say, had behaved towards them with overbearing insolence, calling them heretics, and declaring that all the Franks (a term which then no doubt, as now, in the East, would denote Westerns in general) were heretics; moreover, he reviled their faith, describing it as the greatest heresy in the world. Then they add that John had employed persons to expel them from the sacred grotto at Bethlehem at Christmas. Afterwards a dispute arose at the holy sepulchre, and then it was that the discussion took place respecting several differences in the Greek and Latin rites, particularly the saying of the Filioque in the Creed. This is the first mention of this question being brought forward in the business. The letter says not a word about the disturbance having been caused by the Frank monks saying the Creed with the Filioque in the hearing of the Greeks; they merely state that they themselves had heard it so said in the Chapel of

* 'Athanasian Creed: by whom written,' etc. pp. 155, 245, 267.

Charlemagne, and that such was their own practice. There is not a hint that they had been acting in the matter under direction and instruction from the Western Emperor.*

Mr. Ffoulkes has, moreover, endeavoured to utilise this affair of the monks of mount Olivet by gathering from it additional material for proving Charlemagne to have been a wholesale forger. A profession of faith is extant which is attributed to Pope Leo III. It is described as "symbolum orthodoxæ fidei," and addressed to all the Eastern churches. It has suggested itself to Mr. Ffoulkes that this document must have been tampered with, because it contains two very clear assertions of the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, which he cannot believe could have proceeded from the same person who disapproved of the Creed being sung with the Filioque inserted in it.† He thinks he has found evidence that Charlemagne was the author of these real or imaginary interpolations in a letter addressed by Leo to the Emperor in consequence of that received by the former from the monks of mount Olivet, and indeed in compliance with their request. The Pope, according to Mr. Ffoulkes' interpretation of his letter, enclosed to Charlemagne the letter of the monks, and together with it a profession or symbol of

* See the Epistle of the Frank Monks, 'Baluzii Miscellanea,' tom. ii. p. 84.

† 'Athanasian Creed: by whom written,' etc. p. 158.

the orthodox faith, "which he said he was sending them." This symbol Mr. Ffoulkes identifies, and in all probability rightly identifies, with that above referred to as addressed by Leo to the Eastern churches; and he adds, "This was not merely forwarded 'for perusal,' but evidently was meant to be transmitted through him."* But supposing it to have been transmitted through Charlemagne to the monks at Jerusalem, does it follow, as Mr. Ffoulkes concludes, that it was altered or tampered with by him? It may appear so to one who is impressed with the notion that that great man was addicted to this style of literary work. Most persons will be unable to see the force of such reasoning, and will deem it highly improbable that, if this profession of faith is in whole or in part spurious (a point on which it is not necessary here to express any opinion), the forger should have been a contemporary of Leo III., to whom it is assigned. Forged documents are not generally the work of the age to which they claim to belong, but of a later. But is it true that the document in question was transmitted by the Pope to the monks through Charlemagne? Was it sent to the latter at all? Let the Pope's letter give the answer. "In the present year the monks who dwell upon the holy mount of Olivet have addressed to us a letter relating a contention concerning the faith in which they have been engaged. We have sent *to them* ('illis misimus')

* 'Athanasian Creed: by whom written,' etc. pp. 157, 158.

a symbol of the orthodox faith, in order that all may hold the right and uncorrupt faith in accordance with this our holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. But the letter we have sent to your imperial Majesty for perusal (relegendam)."* So that there is not a word about the *symbol* being sent to Charlemagne, or transmitted through him. It was not this, but the monk's letter, which was forwarded *for his perusal.* The symbol is plainly stated to have been sent direct to the monks. In his anxiety to bring home to Charlemagne a fresh case of forgery, in accordance with the exigencies of his theory, Mr. Ffoulkes has evidently misread Pope Leo's letter. Thus in this case, as in the rest, his evidence breaks down upon examination.

19. The testimony of Jesse, Bishop of Amiens, which is unnoticed by Waterland, must be assigned to the early part of the ninth century. In an epistle on Baptism, addressed to "sacred priests and all persons acquitting themselves worthily as soldiers of Christ," he speaks of the Athanasian Creed as "fides sancti Athanasii episcopi." "Care must be taken," he says, "that the Catholic Faith be both believed and observed by all . . . . in accordance with the faith, which was declared in the Synod of Nice by the 318 Bishops, after this manner: 'We believe in One God the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible, of

* 'Baluzii Miscellanea,' tom. ii. p. 85, where the Pope's letter is given, followed by the profession of faith.

heaven and earth' and the rest; the faith also of the holy Bishop Athanasius we have judged worthy to be observed (observandam) in this work and the Apostles' Creed (Symbolum Apostolorum), together with the traditions and expositions of the holy Fathers noted in these discourses."* I have given the whole passage, because it affords an additional proof of the groundlessness of Mr. Ffoulkes' hypothesis, which forms an essential feature in his theory; viz., that it was Charlemagne's purpose "to substitute 'the Catholic faith of St. Athanasius' in the West, as a standard of orthodoxy, for that of Nicæa." Here we find one of Charlemagne's most favoured and trusted Bishops, one who was employed as his ambassador on missions of the most delicate and important nature, who was among the witnesses to his will, one who was likely, if any within his dominions, to be privy to his counsels and to execute his wishes; we find this man recommending to the observance of the clergy and laity the *three* Creeds, and moreover naming the Nicene first, as though occupying the prerogative of dignity. Mr. Ffoulkes no doubt will tell us—his theory requires it—that Jesse was obeying his imperial master's instructions, either expressed or implied, in recommending the Athanasian Creed to his people's acceptance, and that as 'the Faith of Athanasius.' Be it so. Let him then account for the remarkable

* Jesse 'Episcopi Ambiensis Epistola de Baptismo.'—Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. cv. p. 790.

fact, that in obeying those instructions Jesse defeated their very end and object (such is Mr. Ffoulkes' hypothesis) by recommending the Athanasian Creed as a standard of orthodoxy in the West; not to take the place of the Nicene, but to be received jointly with it. If Charlemagne "*meant* to substitute the 'Faith of St. Athanasius' for the Nicene,"* Jesse strangely misunderstood his master's meaning.

The testimonies just noticed bring out clearly the fact, that at the commencement of the ninth century the Athanasian Creed was universally regarded as the work of Athanasius; and this is in itself a sufficient proof that it was the product of a far earlier age, as Mr. Brewer has pointed out, whatever may have been the cause which led to its being attributed to that father. Is it possible to suppose that Jesse of Amiens, Hatto of Basle, Agobard of Lyons, Theodulph of Orleans, Alcuin, or whoever composed the work assigned to him, and the monks at Jerusalem, would have all conspired in quoting or referring to the Creed as the work of Athanasius had they known it to be the work of a contemporary? Mr. Ffoulkes tells us they were acting under the instructions of Charlemagne. But clearly their mode of alluding to the authorship of the Creed is such as to give the impression that it was a matter concerning which there was no dispute or question among their contemporaries. They appear to be echo-

* Ffoulkes' 'Athanasian Creed: by whom written,' etc. p. 355.

ing the received opinion of their age, not to be stating anything which was new or considered doubtful. And such a general belief respecting the origin of the Creed could not have been the growth of a day or a year. Its being commonly quoted at the commencement of the ninth century as the undoubted work of Athanasius, shows that at that period it was found classed with his works, or assigned to him in manuscripts of an earlier date.

20. In a profession of obedience made by Denebert, Bishop of Worcester, to Ethelhard, Archbishop of Canterbury, the former declares his faith in the Holy Trinity in the very language of the Athanasian Creed. "Insuper et orthodoxam" are the words of this profession, "catholicam apostolicanque fidem, sicut didici, paucis exponam verbis, quia scriptum est 'quicunque vult,'" etc. Then after the first clause we have word for word, the third to the sixth, the twenty-first to the twenty-third, and the twenty-fifth to the twenty-seventh clauses, inclusive, ending with "veneranda sit." And it continues, "Suscipio etiam decreta Pontificum, et sex synodos catholicas antiquorum heroicorum virorum, et præfixam ab iis regulam sincera devotione conservo. Hæc est fides nostra, evangelicis et apostolicis traditionibus firmata, et omnium quæ in hoc mundo sunt catholicarum Ecclesiarum societate fundata: in quâ nos per gratiam Dei omnipotentis permanere usque ad finem vitæ hujus confidimus et speramus. Amen."

In the document Denebert calls himself "electus." The profession was probably made at his consecration, and the date, A.D. 798, is assigned to it, in which year his promotion is placed by Florence. He attests charters from A.D. 801 to A.D. 817.*

This profession of faith is most noteworthy, as proving the reception of the Athanasian Creed in our own country at the end of the eighth century, and thus confirming the testimony borne a few years later by Alcuin, or the writer of the treatise assigned to him on the Procession, to its catholic reception at this time. It must be noticed also that Denebert does not refer to the Creed as a new and unheard-of document, but as one well known and familiar and authoritative, introducing his quotations by the words, "Scriptum est"—the same words (be it said with reverence) with which citations from the Old Testament are introduced in the New.† And his faith thus stated he maintains to be that of all Catholic Churches.

And when Denebert quotes so largely and accurately from the Creed, the natural inference is that it was in existence as a whole in his time, unless the contrary is proved to have been the case. Dr. Swainson, however, considers the portion adopted into this profession to have been the whole of the Creed, or certainly very nearly the whole of it, in Denebert's time, and even in

* 'Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents,' by Haddan and Stubbs, vol. iii. p. 526. Oxford, 1871. † S. Matt. iv. 4, 7, 10.

Hincmar's: "Up to this time," viz., A.D. 869, "Hincmar knew only the document in the form we have it in Denebert and Vienna, 1261."* Again, he says: "It seems to me impossible to conceive that Denebert knew the latter part of the Quicunque in the form in which we now have it. He knew only a portion of the former part of the Creed." And: "Almost all the quotations professedly taken by others from 'the faith of Athanasius' in the early part of the ninth century are to be found contained in the writing of Denebert." And: "There is no record of any quotation from, or reference to, the great mass of this former part of the Creed, beginning with clause 7 and ending with clause 20; none whatever of anything from the latter part of the Creed."† Of course, the obvious and conclusive answer is, that we have evidence of the existence of the Creed in its present complete state in documents of a date prior to Denebert's profession. But we are not compelled to have recourse to evidence which Dr. Swainson does not admit in order to prove the unsoundness of his position in taking this profession as the type of what the Creed was from Denebert's time down to the year 869. This is sufficiently apparent by reference to authorities which he does admit. It is apparent from the proofs which they afford, and which we have already noticed, of the existence of the Creed as a whole at the beginning of the ninth century and

* 'Plea for Time,' etc. p. 45. † Ibid, pp. 42, 43.

yet earlier. It is apparent from what he himself acknowledges, that the 2nd clause is quoted by Agobard, and the 24th by Theodulph, neither of them being found in Denebert; from what he denies, but what he has at the same time established more convincingly by his lame and futile endeavour to explain it away; viz., the fact that Hincmar, in the middle of the ninth century, refers to the latter part of the Creed as part of the *Symbol* of Athanasius. It is apparent from what he has overlooked, that the 7th clause is quoted by Alcuin, *i.e.* in the treatise ascribed to him; the 28th ("He therefore that will," etc.—one of the Damnatory clauses, it must be remembered) both by this writer and by Theodulph, and that too distinctly as belonging to the Creed; and that the 19th and 20th, which are a summary of the nine preceding clauses, are clearly referred to by Hincmar, or rather quoted in an amplified form, in his work 'De Una non Trina Deitate,' none of these clauses being found in Denebert, nor indeed in either of Dr. Swainson's other typical documents. Yet he tells us that during this period, which he represents as the period of the Creed's growth, "the great mass of the former part of the Creed, beginning with clause 7 and ending with clause 20," is not quoted nor referred to at all, and that there is a total silence as regards the latter part. Thus, without going beyond authorities which are appealed to or acknowledged by him, we have sufficient indications that during this period of its

supposed growth it was known and received and recited in its completeness.

Dr. Swainson attaches great weight to Denebert's omission to quote the latter part of the Athanasian Creed, which relates to the Incarnation, and draws the conclusion that it was unknown to him. But surely this, as well as the omission of much of the former part of the Creed, is clearly accounted for by the fact, of which we are informed by Denebert himself, that it was his aim to be as brief as possible in the statement of his faith: "Paucis exponam verbis." Hence in regard to the Trinity he adopts into his profession only so much of the exposition of the Creed as was needful for his purpose, passing by much more than he quotes; and in regard to the Incarnation he passes by entirely the portion of the Creed relating to it, contenting himself on this head with declaring his acceptance of the six Œcumenical Councils, which indeed was quite sufficient, when they had treated so fully of the subject of the Incarnation.

But, indeed, is not Dr. Swainson's mode of reasoning from negatives, on which his theory of growth is founded, inherently fallacious and unsound? Because Denebert and Hincmar did not incorporate into their professions the whole of the Creed, but only so much as was needful for their purpose, does it follow that all the rest, or that even any of the portion not so incorporated, was unknown to them as belonging to the

Creed, and was not included in the Creed in their time? Let us try to picture to ourselves an analogous case. Let us place ourselves by imagination at some distant future (should the world continue, by God's providence, many centuries longer), when Macaulay's famous New Zealander shall have contemplated from Primrose Hill the desolate wilderness once occupied by London with its three million inhabitants; and let us conceive some learned professor at the antipodes, with necessarily a very imperfect knowledge of the state of religion and of the Church in England in our nineteenth century, ignorant of or ignoring the existence of the Prayer Book, but lighting upon some work of the present day, for instance Dr. Newman's Sermon on the Mystery of the Holy Trinity, which quotes some of the clauses of the Creed relating to the Trinity, but omits several others, as well as all that relates to the Incarnation, and then proceeding to argue that Dr. Newman's quotation represents the true condition of the Creed in our age and country, that Dr. Newman knew nothing of the portions which he omitted as belonging to the Creed. To us the fallacy of this imaginary argument is apparent. And there is a similar fallacy, though we may not as readily detect it, in Dr. Swainson's reasonings with respect to the condition of the Creed at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth centuries.

This profession of Denebert's, dated A.D. 798, and

quoting the Athanasian Creed as a well-known document at that time, and of old standing, and that too in England, necessarily occasions considerable difficulty to Mr. Ffoulkes, which he labours hard to escape from. It will be recollected that the letter of Alcuin, in which he discovers a proof of 'Paulinus' authorship of the Athanasian Creed, is at first unhesitatingly assigned by him to the year 800. It cannot have been written earlier, he asserts,* and this he repeats two pages after —it was written in that year "at the earliest." Thus, according to him, the Creed was not composed before 800, or certainly 799; but here we have evidence of its being a well-known formula prior to that date. How is this difficulty to be overcome? how is the theory to be saved? If the mountain won't come to Mahomet, Mahomet must go to the mountain. In this case both Mahomet and the mountain are found to move. The date of Alcuin's letter is pushed forward. In page 230 we are told it *cannot* have been written before A.D. 800; but in a foot-note in page 297 we read that it "*may have been* written a year sooner." The date of Denebert's profession, too, is altered; it may have been a year later, or even, according to the view last propounded by Mr. Ffoulkes, it would be more rightly placed A.D. 802 or 803.† But even supposing that Denebert's profession can be dated so late as this, how is the fact of the

* 'Athanasian Creed: by whom written,' etc. p. 230.

† 'Athanasian Creed Reconsidered,' p. 85.

Athanasian Creed being familiar to an English Bishop A.D. 802, or in the year following, to be accounted for upon Mr. Ffoulkes' theory of its authorship, especially bearing in mind that down to October, A.D. 802, when we are told the Creed was first published to the world, its existence was a profound secret, known only to the few initiated? Ever fertile in conjecture, Mr. Ffoulkes suggests that it may have been communicated to Denebert by Alcuin, or Paulinus, or Charlemagne. But these alterations of date and conjectures are clearly devised to meet the emergency, and rest upon no certain basis, and indeed they only afford additional evidence of the untruth of the whole theory. Mr. Ffoulkes cannot produce a shadow of proof that Denebert was ever in correspondence with any of the parties to whom he assigns the composition or the publication of the Creed, much less that he received it from them.

21. Sirmond refers the diocesan Capitula of Theodulph, Bishop of Orleans, to the year 797, and probably they were enacted early in his Episcopate. None of them directs the learning or saying of the Athanasian Creed; but they are concluded with an exhortation addressed to the clergy, in which the following passage occurs: "Learn the Catholic Faith, preach it most diligently, and preach it to the people each of you in your several churches."* It cannot indeed be asserted with certainty that this refers to the Athanasian Creed; but it is highly

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. cv. p. 209.

probable, considering how very commonly it was described as the Catholic Faith, and that a doctrinal formula is clearly intended here. Priests were not ordered to learn by heart the Nicene or Constantinopolitan Creed, because, being said at Mass, they could not fail to be familiar with it; and all Christians were required to know the Apostles' Creed. But there is another address to his clergy, or, as we should call it, Episcopal Charge by Theodulph, which expressly mentions the Athanasian Creed. It is described as "Capitulare ad presbyteros parochiæ suæ," and contains the following, "Therefore we admonish you, O priests of the Lord, that you both commit to memory and thoroughly understand the Catholic Faith; that is, 'I believe,' and 'Whosoever will be saved: before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith.'" This is given by Baluze from a MS. in the Colbertine Library.* Mr. Ffoulkes assumes, but without any grounds, that this Capitulare was issued after the year 802. But it may have been issued before that, for Theodulph appears to have been Bishop at the time of the Council of Frankfort, A.D. 794. He died A.D. 821. There is some reason for believing that Theodulph wrote a commentary on the Creed. Baluze gives a list of the Abbots of Fleury on the Loire from the foundation of the Abbey, "from an ancient MS. in the Colbertine Library."† The writer

* Baluzii 'Miscellanea,' tom. ii. p. 99.

† 'Miscellaneorum,' liber i. pp. 491, 492; edit. Paris, 1678.

of this document, after mentioning Theodulph as fourteenth in the list, and having been nineteen years and a half Abbot, adds that he "was brought by the illustrious Emperor Charles from Italy on account of his superior erudition, and appointed Abbot of Fleury and Bishop of Orleans;" and moreover that he "published an explanation of the holy Athanasian Symbol," ("explanationem edidit symboli sancti Athanasiani,") and that he composed an explanation of the Mass, and built a beautiful basilica at a place "three miles distant from our monastery." This was evidently written after the death of Theodulph, probably long after; but the information has every appearance of being authentic, and must have been derived from documents once in possession of the Abbey of Fleury; otherwise, how could the writer have obtained the catalogue of the Abbots?

22. Do the Capitulares of Charles refer to the Athanasian Creed? There could be no hesitation in answering this question in the affirmative if the "Capitula de doctrina Clericorum," the first of which orders all ecclesiastics to learn "the Catholic faith of the holy Athanasius, and other things relating to the faith," and on which Mr. Ffoulkes rests his proof that the Creed was palmed on the world by Charlemagne as the work of Athanasius, had been rightly assigned to the Capitulare of October, 802. But we have already seen that this document, in the words of Professor Stubbs, is "simply an unappropriated memorandum with no sign

of authorship or date," and "that there is no external evidence to connect it with Charles."* Mr. Stubbs adds that "no accredited Capitulare of Charles mentions the Athanasian Creed at all." But though it is never mentioned in the Capitulares of Charlemagne under the title of the Faith of St. Athanasius, or the like, I submit with deference that it is described in them as "the Catholic Faith." The 60th capitulum of the Capitulare of A.D. 789 is as follows: "First of all, that the Catholic Faith be diligently read by Bishops and presbyters, and preached to all the people; because this is the first precept of the Lord God Almighty in the law, 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord your God is one God.'"† The first part of this is found also in the Capitulare dated by Pertz, March, 802. That by "the Catholic Faith" a form of words is here intended is evident; for it is ordered to be read by the clergy, and to be preached or recited to the people; and wherever "Catholica Fides" signifies a profession of faith, the presumption is, the Athanasian Creed is meant, unless the context shows that such is not the case; this term, when found alone, being as much the peculiar title of the 'Quicunque vult' as 'Symbolum' was of the Apostles' Creed. Besides, it was the most ancient title of the Athanasian Creed, and hence was very likely to have been used in this sense in the Capitulares of

* Letter of Professor Stubbs to 'The Guardian,' April 3, 1872.

† Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. xcvii. p. 171.

Charles. The context, too, points to this interpretation; for the profession of faith enjoined by the Capitulum was one apparently that dwelt with peculiar distinctness upon the fundamental truth inculcated by the precept, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord." And this is the case with the Athanasian Creed. The Unity of the Godhead is taught by it with greater distinctness and fulness than by either of the other Creeds. It stands in the very forefront of the Credenda: "This is the Catholic Faith, that we worship *one God* in Trinity and Trinity in *Unity*." It is the key-note of the whole of the first portion, echoed by clause after clause in clear and harmonious notes; so much so that some have charged the Creed on this account with making needless repetitions. And it was in consequence of this fulness and distinctness of the Creed in regard to the doctrine of the Unity of the Divine Substance that Hincmar so frequently appealed to it in his controversy with Gothescalcus.

And, indeed, what else could be meant by "Fides Catholica," in the above Capitulum, but the Athanasian Creed? Had the Nicene Creed been intended, something would have been added to show this, and the order would have been that it should be said at Mass. Long before this, St. Isidore of Seville had said of the Nicene Creed, "Symbolum quod tempore sacrificii populo prædicatur cccxviii. sanctorum Patrum collatione apud synodum Nicænam est editum." * Had the Apostles'

* 'De Divinis Officiis,' i. 16.

Creed been intended, "symbolum," not "fides catholica," would have been the term used, and the clergy would have been directed to teach it to the people; for the Capitulares of this time required all the people, and not the clergy alone, to learn the Apostles' Creed. The Capitulum is found in the collections both of Ansegisus and of Benedict the Levite; for the latter, though his books were designed to supplement those of the former, repeats much which the former gives. It occupies a marked position in Benedict's collection, being the fourth capitulum of his first book, and standing the first of all the capitula of Charles and Louis. And he appears to discriminate 'the Catholic faith,' mentioned by it, from the Apostles' Creed; for two other capitula of his first book—the 161st and 170th—relate to the Apostles' Creed, and describe it as symbolum, and direct that, together with the Lord's Prayer, it should be learnt by heart by all Christians. In the former the term "Fides Catholica" is also applied to the Apostles' Creed, and it is so applied in the 30th of the "Capitula Excerpta" of March 802,* which appear to be a selection from different Capitulares, not adhering literally to the original. But this use of the term is clearly exceptional. Mr. Ffoulkes quotes as from the 61st of Benedict's first book, "That all learn the Catholic faith properly, and the Lord's Prayer."† The

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. xcvii. p. 258.

† 'Athanasian Creed Reconsidered,' p. 34.

reference doubtless should have been to the 161st of the first book, the 61st relating to quite a different subject. The quotation, too, is inaccurate, and Mr. Ffoulkes has omitted to state that the Capitulum is entitled "De Symbolo et Oratione Dominica," and commences by describing the Apostles' Creed as "symbolum." "Symbolum, quod est signaculum fidei, et orationem dominicam discere semper admoneant sacerdotes populum Christianum." Parents are then required to send their sons to school, whether in monasteries or under secular priests, "ut fidem Catholicam recte ediscant et orationem dominicam;" *i.e.* "that *the children* may learn correctly the Catholic Faith and the Lord's Prayer."* Thus this capitulum clearly recognises 'symbolum' as the common and peculiar title of the Apostles' Creed, although in one passage it incidentally applies to it the term 'Fides Catholica.'

The 33rd Capitulum or Canon of the Capitulare of the celebrated Council of Frankfort, which was attended by all the Bishops of Charlemagne's realm, and held A.D. 794, enacted that "the Catholic faith of the Holy Trinity and the Lord's Prayer, and the Symbol of the Faith (symbolum fidei), should be preached and delivered to all."† In these canons relating to the Creeds, when it is ordered that they should be 'preached' to the people, what is evidently intended is, that they should be said

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom xcvii. p. 722.
† Ibid, tom. xcvii. p. 197.

publicly in the congregation. Waterland maintains that 'the Catholic faith of the Holy Trinity' here is the Athanasian Creed; and what else could it be? Not the Apostles' Creed, from which it is clearly distinguished. Vossius understands it of the Nicene; but this, being said at Mass, was familiar to the people, and therefore to command it to be recited to them would appear needless. And we have seen that the Athanasian and Apostles' Creeds were jointly recommended by Theodulph to his clergy, probably shortly after the Council of Frankfort.

Thus there are most probable grounds for believing, though it cannot be proved to demonstration, that the use of the Athanasian Creed was enjoined by the Capitulares of Charlemagne, and that too prior to A.D. 800. And these Capitulares are most important documents, codes of rules concerning matters ecclesiastical as well as civil, having the force of law, enacted with the consent of the Bishops and nobles in the national assemblies, which were presided over by the sovereign in person; and they were authoritatively promulgated by him as supreme over all persons and all causes within his dominions.

23. Montfaucon* mentions a manuscript of the Creed in what was in his time the Royal Library at Paris, numbered 4908. It bears neither title nor name of the

* 'Diatribe in Symb. Quicunque, Athan. Opera,' edit. 1698, vol. iii. p. 721.

author, and he considers it to be of the same age as the Psalter at Vienna, written by order of Charlemagne, and presented by him to Hadrian I., who died, it will be remembered, A.D. 795. Waterland adds that "it contains no more than the first part of the Creed, as far as the words 'et tamen non tres æterni, sed unus' ——; the rest is torn off, and lost."* This document is passed by in silence by Mr. Ffoulkes and Dr. Swainson, though it is most important in relation to their theories. To that of the latter it is simply fatal; for it proves (if we may attach any credit to the authority of one of the greatest palæographers who have ever lived, one "who had probably seen and examined"—so says Mr. Ffoulkes —"more MSS. relating to his special subjects than any writer before or since") that at the end of the eighth century the clause asserting that "there are not three eternals, but one eternal," and therefore also the corresponding clauses which follow; viz., those asserting that "there are not three incomprehensibles, nor three uncreated, but one," etc., formed part of the Creed. It is impossible to doubt that the manuscript in its perfect state must have contained the latter, as well as the whole of the former. And yet Dr. Swainson denies that these clauses, in fact any from the 7th to the 20th inclusive, were admitted into the Creed before A.D. 870.

24. Archbishop Usher, in his work on the Creed, states

* 'Critical History of the Athanasian Creed,' p. 76, edit. Oxford, 1870.

that he had seen in the library of Sir Robert Cotton a Gallican Psalter, containing the Te Deum, the Apostles' Creed, and the Athanasian, which he judged, from the ancient character of the drawings and somewhat large form of the writing, to be not later than the time of Gregory the Great. This volume, however, was not to be found in the Cotton Library in Waterland's time,* and it appears to have been missing as early as 1674, as it does not appear in the classed catalogue of the Cotton Manuscripts of that year.† It is mentioned, in 1631, in a list of volumes which had been lent by Cotton to the Earl of Arundel. A Psalter now in the Library of the University of Utrecht has been identified with this long-lost treasure. The Utrecht manuscript bears the same press-mark as Cotton's Psalter, 'Claudius, C. 7,' and is verified by Cotton's autograph; so that its identity is established beyond a question. By a memorandum on the fly-leaf, it appears to have been presented to the Utrecht Library in 1718 by D. de Ridder.

The identification of this manuscript is due principally to Professor Westwood, of Oxford, who saw and examined it in 1858, and published an account of it in the 'Journal of the Archæological Institute' of the following year. But Dr. Swainson was, I believe, the first person who drew public attention to it during the

* 'Critical History of the Athanasian Creed,' p. 68, edit. 1870. Oxford.

† 'Reports on the Utrecht Psalter, addressed to the Trustees of the British Museum,' p. 5.

recent controversy, when the date of the Quicunque became the subject of discussion.

In the Utrecht Psalter, as it is now called, the Psalms are followed by (1) the song of Isaiah (chap. xii.), "Confitebor tibi," etc.; (2) the song of Hezekiah; (3) the song of Hannah, described remarkably enough as "Canticum *Isaie prophetae;*" (4) the song of Moses, "Cantemus Domino," etc.; (5) the song of Habakkuk; (6) the song of Moses, "Audite cœli," etc.; (7) the Benedicite; (8) the Te Deum, described as "*Hymnum ad matutinis*;" (9) the Benedictus; (10) the Magnificat; (11) the Nunc dimittis, described as "Canticum Simeonis ad completorium;" (12) the Gloria in excelsis; (13) the Lord's Prayer according to St. Matthew; (14) the Apostles' Creed, headed "Incipit *symbolu* Apostolorum;" (15) the Athanasian, headed "Incipit Fides *Catholicam*;" and (16) the Goliath Psalm.

Each psalm and hymn and creed is illustrated by a drawing; so that there are one hundred and sixty-six of these drawings in all.

The Athanasian Creed is given in its entirety, including of course the so-called Damnatory clauses. There are a few variations from the ordinary text; but these it would be beside my purpose to specify.

A remarkable diversity of opinion respecting the date of this MS. has shown itself among palæographers. The opinion of Archbishop Usher has been already mentioned. Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, Deputy Keeper

of the Public Records, in an elaborate report drawn up by direction of the Master of the Rolls, confidently maintains that the document was written in the latter part of the sixth century—not later. Himself qualified by a familiarity of more than half a century with ancient documents to form a reliable judgment with regard to their date, he alleges as supporting his view other high authorities who have been led by examination of the MS. to a similar conclusion with himself—Gustavus Hænel and Baron van Westreenen.* On the other hand, the Utrecht Librarian assigns it "to the eighth or ninth century (750–850)."† Since the publication of Sir T. Hardy's Report an opportunity has been afforded to the archæologists of this country of examining this volume at leisure, through the kindness of the authorities of the Utrecht Library, who, upon the application of the trustees of the British Museum, allowed it to be deposited for a time in our National Library. The result has been that some of our most distinguished palæographers have expressed their opinions in regard to the date of the Psalter in a series of reports addressed to the trustees of the British Museum, and published with a preface by the Dean of Westminster. Mr. Bond, Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum, concludes that it cannot be referred "to an earlier time than the end of the eighth century," and is "more disposed to assign it to the ninth;" but he

* Sir T. D. Hardy's Report, pp. 35, 41, 42. † Ibid, p. 39.

thinks it is "not later than the end of the ninth century." Mr. E. M. Thomson, Assistant Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum, "has come to the conclusion that it cannot be assigned to an earlier age than the close of the eighth century." The Rev. H. O. Coxe, Librarian of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, "can see no reason to conclude that the MS. was written before the commencement of the ninth century." The Rev. S. S. Lewis, Librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, expresses a similar opinion. Sir M. Digby Wyatt concludes that it is "certainly not earlier than the seventh or eighth century," and "was probably done at about the middle of the eighth century." Professor J. O. Westwood, of Oxford, refers it "to the eighth or ninth century at the earliest." In this he varies somewhat from his original opinion expressed in the 'Archæological Journal' in 1859, which was that "the text might be referred to the fifth or sixth century. The initial B, however, precludes us from assigning it to so early a date, and would bring it to *the seventh or eighth at the earliest.*" And this opinion was the result of an examination of the MS. which occupied several days. The two last authorities both consider that the drawings were executed later than the text—probably a century later.* In answer to these reports Sir T. Duffus Hardy has issued a

* 'Utrecht Psalter: Reports addressed to the Trustees of the British Museum.' 1874.

'Further Report on the Utrecht Psalter,' in which he replies to the arguments of their authors, and states that after a "careful examination of every letter, every word, every punctuation, and every drawing in the Psalter," he adheres to his "previous conviction that" it "was written before the arrival of St. Augustine in England; in other words, before the close of the sixth century."

Sir Digby Wyatt considers it to be a copy of an earlier MS. This Mr. Bond appears to regard as possible; but if this was the case, he does not think it probable that the additions to the Psalter were included in the original document.

It would be worse than presumptuous in one who is no palæographer to express any opinion as to the correctness or the reverse of these widely-differing views. Who shall decide when doctors disagree? When the world at large witness such a conflict of opinion among those most competent to determine the point, the only conclusion they can arrive at is that the date of the Psalter is quite uncertain—that it may be as early as the latter part of the sixth century, and may be as late as the latter part of the ninth. But whichever of these be accepted as the true date, in either case the result is fatal both to Dr. Swainson's and Mr. Ffoulkes' theories. If Archbishop Usher and Sir T. D. Hardy are right (and such authorities cannot be hastily rejected) in assigning the Psalter to the sixth century, the unavoidable con-

clusion respecting the Creed is that it was the product of the fifth, because it appears in the Psalter side by side with the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer and Scriptural Hymns and Canticles which were used in the Church's offices; and hence we are led to believe that it was also thus publicly used at the time when the Psalter was written, whenever that may have been; and, as has been already argued, the Creed must have been in existence some considerable period before it was admitted into the offices of the Church. On the other hand, if the Psalter was written so late as the latter part of the ninth century—the latest date claimed for it by any expert—we are on the same grounds compelled to place the origin of the Creed in the eighth century at the latest.

The reports of the Palæographers addressed to the trustees of the British Museum are accompanied by one from Dr. Swainson, in which he adduces "reasons of a literary nature which compel him to retain the opinion that the volume cannot be much earlier than the middle of the ninth century, and may be considerably later."

(1.) He urges that the Gallican Psalter was not superseded in the ninth century by the Roman Psalter, but that the latter was gradually and steadily ousted by the former. But this is nothing to his point. What it was needful for him to show was that the Gallican Psalter was not in use before the middle of the ninth

century, and hence that the Utrecht MS., being a Gallican Psalter, could not have been written earlier. But so far from this being the case, according to Waterland, the Gallican Psalter "obtained first in Gaul about the year 580, or, however, not later than 595, from which circumstance it came to have the name of Gallican, in contradistinction to the Roman. From Gaul or France it passed over into England before the year 597, and into Germany, Spain, and other countries . . . . It was admitted in Britain and Ireland, and prevailed, except in the Church of Canterbury."* The Vienna Psalter, which is a Gallican Psalter, was written, as we shall see, before the close of the eighth century.

(2.) He considers the drawings of the Utrecht Psalter to be later than those in the Harleian MS., 603, "which is considered to belong to the tenth or eleventh century." His inference is obvious. But Sir Digby Wyatt, in his report, gives it as his opinion that the very reverse was the case; *i.e.* that the pictures of the Utrecht manuscript are the earlier; and the opinion of Sir Digby on a subject which is his specialty as an artist, if not conclusive, is at least entitled to great consideration. Mr. Dickinson seems to think that the Harleian MS. was copied from the Utrecht in the earlier parts.

(3.) He affirms "that there is not a single Psalter known of a date anterior to the time of Charlemagne

* Waterland's 'Critical History of the Athanasian Creed,' pp. 86, 87. Oxford, 1870.

which contains the Psalms, Canticles, and other contents of the Utrecht Psalter." This might be adduced as a reason, though not *per se* conclusive, for thinking that the Utrecht Psalter was not written before the time of Charlemagne; but how can it be a reason for thinking that this Psalter "cannot be much earlier than the middle of the ninth century, and may be considerably later"? Charlemagne began to reign A.D. 768, and died A.D. 814; and if the Utrecht Psalter were assigned to the same date as the Vienna, which also contains the ordinary Hymns and Canticles and the Quicunque, *i.e.* the early part of Charlemagne's reign (and this would be a not improbable, certainly a safer, date to assign to it, if we were to strike a balance between the differing views of the Palæographers), this would be placing it "much earlier than the middle of the ninth century," but not "anterior to the time of Charlemagne."

(4.) "Among the contents of the Psalter are the *Te Deum* and *Gloria in Excelsis* and the *Apostles' Creed.* And these appear (with a few exceptions, to which I shall allude below) in their modern received version." Now this line of argument, which is based upon our imperfect knowledge of the ritual of the seventh and eighth centuries, is obviously inconclusive. Considering that comparatively very few relics of that age have survived the general wreck, if we were unable to produce any positive evidence of the documents in question having been extant "much earlier than the

middle of the ninth century," or say, for convenience' sake, before that century, precisely in the form in which they are found in the Utrecht Psalter, we should not be justified in concluding from thence that they were not really extant before then in that form. But it so happens that we are able to produce positive evidence to this effect.

(*a*) Of the Apostles' Creed: "In the course of the seventh century," says Dr. Heurtley,* "the Creed seems to have been approaching more and more nearly, and more and more generally, to conformity with the formula now in use; and before its close instances occur of Creeds virtually identical with that formula. The earliest Creed, however, which I have met with actually and in all respects identical with it, that of Firminius, does not occur till the eighth century." This Creed is dated A.D. 750. Firminius died A.D. 758.† Afterwards he adds, "By the close of the eighth century the formnla now in use may be considered as *on the whole established.*"‡ This Creed of Firminius is identical with the Apostles' Creed as it appears in the Utrecht Psalter, with the exception of some trifling variations. It reads 'cælos' for 'cælum,' 'sedit' for 'sedet,' inserts 'est' after 'venturus,' and omits 'et' after 'credo,' in the 8th Article. Sir T. Hardy, in his Report (p. 32), gives a Creed from an ancient Gallican Missal of *the sixth century*, which

* 'Harmonica Symbolica,' p. 126.
† Ibid, p. 71. ‡ Ibid, p. 126.

is also identical with the Creed in the Utrecht Psalter, not differing from it really more than the Creed of Firminius, and containing all twelve Articles. The most important difference is, that it reads "unigenitum sempiternum" instead of "unicum dominum nostrum." These two instances alone suffice to prove that the Apostles' Creed in its completeness, as it appears in the Utrecht Psalter, was extant at least in Gaul and Germany considerably before the ninth century. Firminius preached in those countries.

(*b*) Of the Te Deum, which, according to Dr. Swainson, appears in the Utrecht Psalter in "the modern received text." This, however, is inaccurate; for it appears there with the older readings, 'suscepisti' and 'gloria munerari,' for 'suscepturus' and 'in gloria numerari,' the present received readings. The Te Deum is also found in the Vienna Psalter, and, as we are informed by Denis,* with the reading, "gloria munerari." In the liturgical works of Alcuin, who died A.D. 804, the Te Deum appears exactly as we have it "in the received modern version." At least this is the text in Migne's edition, the only one I have at present an opportunity of consulting. If this is the genuine text of Alcuin, we have here a proof that the text which is given in the Utrecht Psalter, as apparently also in the Vienna, is not only much earlier than the middle of the ninth

* 'Codices Manuscripti Bibliothecæ Vindobonensis,' vol. i. pars. 1, pp. 54–70.

century, but is prior to the time of Alcuin, and therefore of Charlemagne.

(*c*) Of the Gloria in Excelsis, "The Utrecht Manuscript," says Dr. Swainson, "gives it in its modern form." Very true. But this modern form is very ancient also; for this hymn appears, word for word as it is found in the Utrecht Psalter, in a Gallican Sacramentary in an ancient MS. of the seventh century, which was discovered by Mabillon in the monastery of Bobio.* It also appears precisely in the same form in the Vienna Psalter.

(5.) "Every early Psalter," Dr. Swainson adds, "which gives the Te Deum describes it as used on *Sundays* at Matins. The Utrecht Psalter describes it thus: 'Hymnum ad Matutinis' (*sic*); *i. e.* daily at Matins." And "we are told by Daniel," he continues, "that the Te Deum did not come into daily use at Rome in the ninth century." Hence he infers that this title "could not have been written before the ninth or tenth century." Afterwards he admits "the weakness of this argument" for his purpose, because "these titles were inserted after the Psalms were written"—possibly three or four centuries. Whether this was the case or not, is a point which I forbear to consider, as lying beyond my province. It is perfectly unnecessary for me to avail myself of the weapon by which Dr. Swainson destroys

* Mabillon, 'Museum Italicum,' tom. i. pp. 281, 282, edit. Paris, 1687.

his own argument, its weakness being, to my mind, evident on other grounds. To me it is far from clear that this Rubric-Title does necessarily mean "*daily* at Matins," and I am confirmed in my doubt by observing the indications of the scribe's inaccuracy or ignorance, if not both, in this and other titles. The song of Hannah, for instance, is described as 'the song of the prophet Isaiah.' Moreover, the Te Deum, according to Denis, is inscribed in a similar manner in the Vienna Psalter, as "hymnus *matutinalis*," a description which sufficiently shows the weakness of Dr. Swainson's argument, whether or not the Te Deum was said daily when the Vienna Psalter was written. As early as the sixth century the Te Deum was ordered to be said in some communities on Sundays at Matins, as in the rule of Teradius, which was said to have been drawn up by Cæsarius of Arles, and to have been delivered by him to several monasteries: "Perfectis missis dicite *matutinos* directaneo;" then, after mentioning several Psalms, it continues: "*Te Deum laudamus, Gloria in excelsis Deo* et capitulum. Omni dominica sic dicatur." * Dr. Swainson apparently would imply that the fact of the Te Deum not being said daily at Rome in the ninth century proves that it was not so said anywhere at that period. Indeed, remarkable as it appears, if we may trust the answer given to Amalarius early in that century, this grand hymn, which we now use daily, was then sung

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. lxvii. p. 1102.

at Rome only "*in natalitiis pontificum*," not even on Sundays.* Still, the inference implied by Dr. Swainson does not hold; for it is certain that great diversity of rites prevailed in that and indeed previous centuries, and that Rome, instead of herself taking the lead, in several instances followed the lead, of other churches. The history of the 'Filioque' clause affords a striking illustration of this. Again, it seems clear that the Creed was not sung in the Liturgy or Mass at Rome in the time of Gregory the Great, for his Sacramentary contains no direction respecting it; and yet we know, from the second Canon of the Third Council of Toledo, and from St. Isidore of Seville, that at that time it was used in Spain at this service. Indeed it is doubtful whether the custom of saying it at Mass was admitted in the Roman Church before the eleventh century.†

I have now examined Dr. Swainson's reasons for thinking that the Utrecht Psalter "cannot be much earlier than the middle of the ninth century, and may be considerably later," and I submit that his premisses do not bear out his conclusion. Moreover, in this report, published at the commencement of 1874, clearly he does not adhere to the ground which he had taken only a year before in his 'Plea for Time,' etc., wherein

* 'Amalarius de Ordine Antiphomarii;' Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. cv. p. 1246.

† Bingham's 'Antiquities,' x. 4, 17; Palmer's 'Origines,' vol. ii. p. 55. Third edition.

he enunciated his theory that the Athanasian Creed was not completed before A.D. 870; for the Utrecht Psalter gives this Creed in its completeness. It would have been more consistent had he endeavoured to show that it could not have been written before 870, than that "it could not be much earlier than the middle of the ninth century," or "that it could not have been written long before 800." Could he have proved either of the two latter points, which certainly are not identical, he would not have saved his theory.

25. The Psalter in the Imperial Library at Vienna, which contains the Athanasian Creed in its appendix, also supplies evidence that the Creed was not only extant in its completeness in the latter part of the eighth century, but was used in the offices of the Church at that epoch.

An account of this MS. is given by Lambecius,* who himself discovered it in the private library of the Emperor Leopold I. in the year 1666. It is a Gallican Psalter, and its contents, as well as its antiquity and its costly character (it is written in golden letters), are such as to render it a document of much interest and importance. On the first folio are some dedicatory verses, in which King Charles solicits Pope Adrian to accept the gift of this Psalter. Among them are the following:

* 'Commentariorum de Bibliotheca Cæsarea Vindobonensi, liber secundus,' c. v. pp. 261–296.

"Hadriano summo papæ patrique beato
Rex Carolus salve mando valeque pater.
Præsul Apostolicæ munus hoc sume cathedræ,
Vile foris visu, stemma sed intus habens.
Organa Davidico gestat modulantia plectro,
Continet et lyricos suavisonosque melos.

* * * * * *

"Hoc vobis ideo munus pie dedo sacerdos,
Filius ut mentem patris adire queam.
Ac memorere mei precibus sanctisque piisque
Hoc donum exiguum sæpe tenendo manu.
Et quanquam modico niteat splendore libellus,
Davidis placeat celsa Camæna tibi.

* * * * * *

"Incolumis vigeas Rector per tempora longa
Ecclesiamque Dei dogmatis arte regas."

Immediately after these come some other verses addressed by one Dagulfus, the writer of the MS. to Charles:

"Aurea Davidicos en pingit litera cantus,
Ornare docuit tam bene tale melos.
Aurea verba sonant, promittunt aurea regna,
Mansurumque canunt et sine fine bonum.
Hæc merito tabulis cultim decorentur eburnis,
Quæ mire exsculpsit ingeniosa manus.

"Illic Psalterii prima ostentatur origo,
Et rex doctiloquax ipse canere choro.
Ut que decus rediit, sublatis sentibus, olim
Quod fuerat studio pervigilante viri.
Aurea progenies fulvo lucidior auro,
Carle, jubar nostrum, plebis et altus amor.

"Rex pie, dux sapiens, virtute insignis et armis,
Quem decet omne decens, quicquid in orbe placet.
Exigui famuli Dagulfi sume laborem
Dignanter docto mitis et ore lege.
Sic tua per multos decorentur sceptra triumphos
Davidico et demum consociare choro."

This King Charles and Pope Adrian had been universally identified with Charlemagne and Adrian I. until Mr. Ffoulkes suggested that the persons intended were another King Charles and another Pope Adrian; viz., Charles the Bald and Pope Adrian II. Till then even Dr. Swainson pronounced "the evidence that the Psalter was prepared either for Pope Adrian, or for Hildegardis the wife of Charlemagne, too strong to be gainsayed;"* but when Mr. Ffoulkes' discovery saw the light, it was at once accepted and hailed by him as 'a happy suggestion.' And indeed so it was for his theory as well as Mr. Foulkes's, neither of which could be maintained consistently with the date hitherto assigned to this MS. But though a happy suggestion in this respect, it is a most improbable one. Ninety-nine persons out of a hundred would consider the terms employed by Dagulfus far more applicable to Charles the Great than to Charles the Bald, particularly the distich commencing 'Rex pie.' During the whole of the pontificate of Adrian I., which lasted from A.D. 772 to A.D. 795, Charlemagne maintained an unbroken friendship and

* 'Further Investigations on the Origin and Object of the Athanasian Creed,' p. 11.

alliance with him; and when the Pope died, some verses were composed by or for the monarch, as the record of his own sorrow and of his friend's virtues. Three times during the same pontificate Charlemagne visited Rome. The second of these visits to the Papal city, A.D. 781, is memorable as the occasion when his son Pippin was baptized, the Pope himself standing godfather, and was also anointed to the kingdom of Italy. It is commemorated in some verses which were inscribed on a copy of the Gospels, then written by order of Charles and Hildegardis, who accompanied him, and which deserve attention in relation with those of Dagulfus.* The writer, Godescal, describes the character of Charles in terms precisely similar to those employed by Dagulfus. Charles is 'passim laudabilis heros,' 'humili pietate superbus, providus ac sapiens,' 'rex pius.' Godescal also speaks of his royal master as visiting Rome for the purpose of presenting numerous gifts to Christ. Eginhard too relates that he frequently acted with great munificence to the pontiffs. Nothing then can be more probable than that Charlemagne should have presented, or intended to present, such a gift as this magnificent Psalter to his friend Adrian I. On the other hand, the relations between Charles the Bald and Adrian II. generally were far from amicable. They never met, so far as we know. On one occasion only do we read of the latter, during his brief pontifi-

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. xcviii. pp. 1353, 1354.

cate of five years, receiving presents from the former. In spite of Adrian's remonstrances, and in defiance of his threats, Charles had taken possession of the dominions of his deceased nephew, and he sought to propitiate the offended Pope by sending him, together with an epistle, "a cloth for the altar of St. Peter's formed out of his own golden robes, with two golden crowns decked with jewels."* The presents being thus specified, it is natural to conclude that none others were sent. And these dedicatory verses bear further internal evidence tending to show that the Charles whom they refer to is none other than Charlemagne, and hence that the MS. must have been written during the pontificate of Adrian I. "David" was the appellation with which Charlemagne's courtiers and divines delighted to honour him, and which he himself does not appear to have regarded with disfavour. In the repeated use of this name, and reference to it both in the verses of Charles and those of Dagulfus, it is impossible to help recognising an allusion to the royal donor of the Psalter, as well as to the royal and inspired author of the Psalms.

The carmen of Dagulfus is not immediately followed by the text of the Psalter, but by several documents described by Lambecius as prolegomena. These consist in the first place of five professions of faith, the Nicene Creed proper, including of course the anathema,

* 'Annales Bertinani,' A.D. 870; Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. cxxv. p. 1261.

and those of St. Ambrose, of Gregory the Great (it is not the same as that given in his life by John the Deacon), of Gregory Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea, called here also Martyr, and of St. Jerome. Then come a metrical version of the Lord's Prayer, and the Gloria in Excelsis; and then some treatises respecting prophecy in general, and particularly the Psalms—comprising St. Jerome's preface to the Psalms, from his Epistle to Paula and Eustochium; a treatise on prophecy, and the Psalter compiled from the works of SS. Augustine, Jerome, and Isidore; an epistle of Pope Damasus to St. Jerome, and the reply of the latter—both considered spurious by Baronius; another epistle, and some spurious verses of Damasus and Jerome. All these prolegomena are given by Lambecius at length; and he expresses an intention (which however he appears never to have carried into effect) of giving a fuller account at a more convenient opportunity of the Psalter itself and its appendix. The Psalter is succeeded by what Lambecius for convenience' sake calls an Appendix, which he describes as containing (1) the Song of Isaiah, "Confitebor Domine;" (2) the Song of Hannah; (3) the Song of Moses, "Cantemus Domino;" (4) the Song of Habakkuk; (5) the Song of Moses, "Audite cœli;" (6) the Benedicite, entitled "Hymnus trium puerorum;" (7) the Te Deum, entitled "Hymnus quem S. Ambrosius et S. Augustinus invicem condiderunt;" (8) the Benedictus; (9) the Magnificat;

(10) the Nunc dimittis; (11) the Lord's Prayer; (12) the Apostles' Creed, entitled "Symbolum sanctorum Apostolorum;" and (13) the Athanasian, entitled "Fides S. Athanasii episcopi Alexandrini." It may be observed that these occur in the same order in the Utrecht Psalter, which contains in addition the Gloria in Excelsis (which is probably omitted in the appendix to this Psalter because it is inserted among the prolegomena) after the Nunc dimittis, and the apocryphal 151st or Goliath Psalm last. Denis adds that this Psalter also contains, like the Utrecht, the song of Hezekiah, which Lambecius omits to notice; and some other particulars omitted by the latter are supplied by the former.

Prefixed to the Vienna Psalter, Lambecius goes on to say, is a document subscribed by John Henseler, Imperial Notary, stating that it had been originally used by Hildegardis, the wife of Charlemagne, who after her death presented it, A.D. 788, to the Church of Bremen, where it had been kept for eight hundred years and more, and publicly exhibited every year among the sacred relics of the Church. In proof of this Henseler adds two clauses accurately copied, as he expressly certifies, from very ancient manuscripts of the Church of Bremen; one of them giving a list of the possessions and treasures bestowed upon the Church by Charlemagne when he founded it, the last in the list being "a Psalter of his deceased wife, well and finely written in golden letters;" and the other which describes

the Psalter in a similar manner, mentioning it as one of the sacred relics annually exhibited for public veneration. Thus again the Psalter is traced back to Charlemagne, as having been in his possession.

Dr. Swainson pronounces this certificate historically worthless, because, being written in the seventeenth century, it attests a fact supposed to have happened eight hundred years and more before.* The certificate, however, does not attest the fact, but the correctness of certain copies from ancient documents which the notary had before him. Our belief of the fact, therefore, rests not on his unsupported assertion, but on the testimony of those documents; and this he has delivered to us word for word as he found it. I cannot attest that John, the son of John and Mary Smith, was baptized on a certain day some two hundred years ago; but I can certify that the statement of the fact is correctly copied from the Parish Register, and the certificate will be accepted in evidence of the fact.

There is an obvious difficulty in reconciling the statement of the documents of Bremen that Charlemagne presented the Psalter to that Church with what we gather from the dedicatory verses; viz., that he gave it to Adrian. The difficulty, however, is not insurmountable. Lambecius cuts the knot by denying the truth of the tradition of the Church of Bremen, that the Psalter had belonged to Hildegardis, and after her

* Letter to 'The Guardian,' Oct. 9, 1872.

death was given by Charlemagne to that Church; and he accounts for its finding its way to Bremen by the hypothesis that it was sent by Adrian as a present to St. Willehad on his consecration to the Archbishopric of the See in 788, when it was founded. Waterland accepts this hypothesis without question; but, as Pagi observes, Lambecius has failed to produce any adequate proof in its support, and it is highly improbable that a present, which Adrian had received from the Frank King, should afterwards have been given by him to the same king's subject. Pagi therefore conjectures that Adrian, having originally received it from Charlemagne, afterwards gave it to Hildegardis when she visited Rome, A.D. 781;* and that thus it came into her possession and reverted to Charlemagne on her death, which took place two years after. But this also is improbable. It would appear the simplest solution of the difficulty† to suppose that the Psalter was originally

* Pagi, 'Critica in Annales Baronii,' an. 783.

† Since writing the above I have found that a similar solution of the difficulty suggested itself to the authors of the 'Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique,' tom. ii. p. 100, m. 1. They deem it improbable that the Pope would have parted with a volume given him by so great a monarch as Charlemagne, and conjecture that, though dedicated to Adrian I., it was never actually presented to him. "Le Psautier dedié par cet empereur au pape Adrian I., quoiqu' il ne l'ait pas reçu: peut-être parcequ' il vint a mourir dans la circonstance, ou il devoit lui etre presenté." But it could not have been the death of the Pope, which occurred A.D. 795, that prevented his receiving it, as it had been presented to the Church of Bremen A.D. 788, and had previously belonged to Hildegardis, who died five years before that.

intended by Charlemagne to be sent as a present to Pope Adrian, and was written with that view, but that failing for some reason to carry his intention into effect he gave it to Hildegardis, who seems to have been of his numerous wives the one whom he loved the most dearly; and when the see of Bremen was founded and endowed by him five years after her decease, he presented it, with other gifts, to that Church as a votive-offering in her memory.

Thus we are able to reconcile the testimony of the ancient records of the Church of Bremen with the plain meaning of the dedicatory verses, and both of these concur in pointing to the early part of Charlemagne's reign as the date of this Psalter; and I think its contents afford some indications to the same effect. Muratori * states that in ancient copies of the so-called Creed of St. Jerome the Holy Spirit is said to proceed simply "ex Patre." This is the case with that profession of faith as it appears in the Vienna Psalter. In the third of the Caroline Books, or the Capitulare which was composed and published at the Council of Frankfort, A.D. 794, and sent to Adrian I., the same Creed is also found; indeed it was expressly adopted by the Council as the declaration of its faith, but with the remarkable difference, that it represents the Holy Spirit as proceeding "ex Patre *et Filio*." Now the Council of Frankfort was presided over by Charlemagne; and it is

* 'Anecdota,' vol. ii. pp. 224, 225.

highly improbable that *after* that Council, with his sanction, had adopted the Creed of St. Jerome, with the insertion of the Filioque clause, a Psalter should have been written by his order, intended by him as a present to the Pope, containing the same Creed, but without that clause. It is equally improbable that if the Psalter had been prepared under the orders of Charles the Bald as a present to Adrian II. this Creed would have appeared in it without the Filioque, inasmuch as the doctrine of the double Procession was stoutly maintained against the Greeks, during Adrian II.'s Pontificate, by the Latins, and especially by the theologians of Gaul. In October, 867, Pope Nicholas wrote to the Archbishops of Charles' kingdom directing their attention, and that of their suffragans, to the charges of error brought against the Latins by the Greeks, one of which related to the Procession, and the letter was read by Hincmar, in the king's presence. Nicholas died in December of the same year, and was succeeded immediately by Adrian II. Again, another profession of faith contained in this Psalter is the so-called Creed of Gregory of Neo-Cæsarea, or Gregory Thaumaturgus, which is found in his life by St. Gregory Nyssen. This Creed, which is obviously one of great antiquity, and originally Greek, describes the Holy Spirit as "having His substance from God, and having been manifested through the Son" (ex Deo substantiam habens et qui per Filium apparuit), and on this account Adrian I. quoted it in his reply to

the Capitulare of the Council of Frankfort which had been sent to him by Charlemagne, and which had condemned Tarasius of Constantinople for asserting that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father *through* the Son (ex Patre per Filium).* The Pope defended the orthodoxy of his brother Patriarch by appealing to the Fathers and to this Creed, which was clearly apposite to his purpose, in opposition to Charlemagne and the Council. After this it is quite inconceivable that Charlemagne or Charles the Bald, or any other sovereign of the Franks, all of whom adhered stedfastly to the doctrine of the Procession as maintained by the Council of Frankfort; viz., that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, would have adopted this Creed for the expression of their views. Least of all, is it likely that Charlemagne would have done so. But he might have done so some years before the Council, when the question was not prominently discussed, and he had as yet expressed no formal opinion upon it. Thus the contents of this Psalter, as well as the dedicatory verses and the notary's certificate, point to the early part of Charlemagne's reign as the time when it was written. Nor can we omit from our consideration that Lambecius, who was a person not unacquainted with ancient documents and MSS., was most fully persuaded that this was its date; for he describes it as being of venerable antiquity, and he concluded, from the dedicatory verses,

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. xcviii. pp. 1249, 1250.

that it was sent by Charlemagne to Adrian I. on his accession to the Pontificate, A.D. 772. But with regard to this particular he might be mistaken.

And not only Lambecius, but other competent palæographers assign this Psalter to the end of the eighth century. To wit, the authors of the 'Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique,' who appear to have been acquainted with the MS. from their way of speaking of it ("est à la verité en lettres d'or, mais il n'a que quelques portions en pourpre"), and who accepted without hesitation the fact of its dedication to Pope Adrian by Charlemagne.* Denis too, who as the Librarian of the Imperial Library at Vienna must have been well acquainted with the MS., describes it as belonging to the eighth century.† Silvestre and his coadjutors accept without the slightest doubt the date indicated by the dedicatory verses, and speak of the writing, of which they give a fac-simile, as "a good specimen of the renovated Roman or Caroline characters in general usage from the end of the eighth century;" and add that "the general appearance of the volume at once indicates it to be of the latter part of the eighth."‡ The date is thus determined by high palæographic authorities, as well as by internal evidence.

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. ii. p. 100, n. 1.

† 'Codices Manuscripti Bibliothecæ Vindobonensis.' Recensuit M. Denis, vol. i. pp. 54.

‡ 'Universal Paleography.' By M. J. B. Silvestre. Translated by Sir F. Madden. London, 1850. Vol. i pp. 331, 332.

But Dr. Swainson, to whose theory this Psalter is fatal if it belongs to the eighth century, for it contains the Athanasian Creed in its entirety, has endeavoured on palæographic grounds to prove it to be later.* *Cuique in sua arte credendum.* Remembering this, I feel compelled in the interests of truth to express a doubt whether Dr. Swainson's attainments as a palæographer are of such an exalted standard as to entitle his individual opinion to counterbalance, and still more to outweigh, the concurrent judgments of the several high authorities whom I have cited. Has he served that apprenticeship of long familiarity with ancient MSS. which is the indispensable qualification for forming a reliable judgment in regard to their age? The science of palæography, like other sciences, is not to be acquired in a day. And in regard to his opinion respecting this particular MS., would experienced palæographers accept the grounds on which it is based? They are of such an uncertain nature that after having arrived at the conclusion that the Psalter was written in the tenth century, he then shifts his position, and transfers the date to the pontificate of Adrian II., in order to fall in with the "happy suggestion" of Mr. Ffoulkes. He believes it to have proceeded from the same *atelier* as the Bible of Charles the Bald, his Psalter, and Gospels, and to have been written about the same time. In regard to these three famous manu-

* Letter to 'The Guardian,' October 9th, 1872.

scripts, it is not out of place to observe that we know for certain the names of the writers of two of them. We are informed by some verses at the end of the Gospels that they were written by two brothers, both priests, Beringarius and Liuthardus; and the second of these two brothers also wrote the Prayer Book or Psalter—a fact made known by a line written on the last page. On the other hand, the writer of the Vienna Psalter, as we have already noticed, was one Dagulfus. This does not look like proceeding from the same *atelier*.

Mr. Ffoulkes' hypothesis with respect to this MS. is beset with insuperable difficulties, and is a tissue of inaccuracy and confusion. He accepts the notary's attestation in its main particulars; viz., that the Psalter was used by Hildegardis during her lifetime, and presented, after her death, by Charlemagne to the Church of Bremen; but he argues that the Charles and the Adrian of the dedicatory verses were not Charles the Great and Adrian I., but Charles the Bald and Adrian II. Let him speak for himself: "There is, besides these dedicatory verses, an attestation by a notary of the empire prefixed to this Psalter, declaring that it had been used by Hildegard, wife of Charlemagne, during her lifetime, and given by him, after her death, and in memory of her, to the Church of Bremen on nominating St. Willehad to that see." * The attestation states that

* 'The Athanasian Creed: by whom written,' etc. p. 305.

the Psalter was given to the Church of Bremen A.D. 788, without mentioning St. Willehad, who appears to have been consecrated in the previous year. This, however, is a trifling inaccuracy. He then maintains that if it was used by Hildegardis, as stated by the notary, it would never have been given to Adrian I. Enough has been already said on this point. It is possible, as Pagi conjectures, though not probable, that it was first given to Adrian, and then, having come into the possession of Hildegardis, upon her death reverted to Charlemagne, who eventually gave it to the Church of Bremen. But it is not necessary to suppose that it was ever actually presented to Adrian, only that it was designed with that purpose by Charlemagne. The dedicatory verses are thus satisfactorily explained, and the apparent absence (which is noticed by Mr. Ffoulkes) of any mention of the Pope in the records of the Church of Bremen as having once been the possessor of the MS. is accounted for. He proceeds: "Suppose this attestation to have been prefixed to it"—*i.e.* the Psalter—"by the authorities of the Church of Bremen shortly after they became possessed of it, and that it was taken out of their hands in another generation to be sent to Rome, and all is plain. The dedicatory verses savour of the age of Charles the Bald infinitely more than of Charlemagne; and *Charles the Bald* was no more than *King* of France when *Adrian II.* became *Pope.*"* One is

* 'The Athanasian Creed: by whom written,' etc. p. 306.

really tempted to doubt whether the writer of this could ever have read the attestation or certificate which he refers to. It was not written by *the authorities of the Church of Bremen*, but by an imperial notary ("Johannes Henseler S. Cæs. Majestatis auctoritate Notarius in fidem præmissorum," is the subscription). It could not possibly have been prefixed shortly after the Church of Bremen became possessed of the Psalter; for it was evidently not written till the seventeenth century, inasmuch as it states that the Psalter had been in the possession of the Church of Bremen more than eight hundred years, having been presented to that Church A.D. 788. But this is not all. Mr. Ffoulkes is of opinion that the Psalter was written during the life-time of Hildegardis, who died A.D. 783, but that the dedicatory verses were not added, not written, until the Pontificate of Adrian II., which commenced A.D. 869. But how is this possible, considering that the verses stand at the very commencement of the manuscript? Are we to believe that the writer in the reign of Charlemagne foresaw that they would be added a century, or nearly a century, later—nay, anticipated their exact length, and consequently left the requisite space vacant for their reception? Again, the Psalter must have been written in the time, if not by the direction, of the same King Charles who presented it, or at least intended it for a present, to Pope Adrian. This appears from the verses of Dagulfus, the writer, which immediately follow

those of Charles, and are addressed to him, and among which are the following:

> "Exigui famuli Dagulfi sume laborem
> Dignanter, docto mitis et ore lege."

How, then, can it be true that the Psalter was written in the reign of Charles the Great, but dedicated to the Pope by another Charles, Charles the Bald? I have another difficulty to propose. If the Psalter was sent to Rome, as Mr. Ffoulkes supposes, in the Pontificate of Adrian II., how could it possibly have been at Bremen, as the notary asserts it was, more than eight hundred years, or even so much? For this assertion of the notary must have been written rather early in the seventeenth century. Lambecius found the Psalter in the Emperor's private library in the year 1666, and says that he did not know how or when it came there from Bremen, nor does he appear to have known when the attestation or certificate was prefixed. Had he had reason to think it had been added very recently, he would probably have said so. And if the Psalter was sent to Rome by Charles the Bald, how and when did it find its way back to Bremen? But it must have been all the while at the latter place if the notary's statement is true; and Mr. Ffoulkes does not question his veracity. Yet another difficulty occurs to me. Charles the Bald might not have found it very easy to obtain the Psalter from the Church of Bremen, which

was not included in his dominions, though it was within the more ample realm of Charles the Great. Would that Church have been disposed to part with such a treasure, the gift of their illustrious founder, except under compulsion?

The enquiry will necessarily arise, But how does Mr. Ffoulkes' hypothesis serve his purpose? If the Psalter was written before the year 783, inasmuch as the Athanasian Creed is found in it, together with the customary hymns, what becomes of his theory that the Creed was not composed till A.D. 800, or at any rate a year or two earlier? Does he not himself admit that this copy of the Creed was written prior to the date which he so confidently assigns for its composition? and if so, that the Creed was adopted into the offices of the Church before that? So it would appear at first. But Mr. Ffoulkes holds, as a more careful examination of his pages will show, that the documents, including the Creed which follow the Psalter in this MS., were not contemporaneous additions, but added some time after the Psalter itself was written; he does not say when, but probably at the same time when he thinks the dedicatory verses were added, in the Pontificate of Adrian II. What is his authority for this—his proof? Has he ever seen the MS. himself? Has any palæographer who has examined it stated such a thing? Does Lambecius, or Denis, or Silvestre, all of whom describe this volume, so much as hint that in their opinion it

was not all written by the same hand and at the same period? Lambecius simply describes it as being of venerable antiquity, written when Charles was king, and sent by him as a present to Pope Adrian I., for such is the conclusion drawn by him from the dedicatory verses. Mr. Ffoulkes' authority consists in the use by Lambecius of the term 'appendix' for describing the matter which follows the Psalter: "He would scarcely have called it an appendix had he considered it to have formed part of the Psalter originally." * Would such an interpretation of the word have occurred to any but a man driven hard to save a favourite theory? Lambecius evidently adopted the term merely for convenience' sake; and it would be quite as reasonable to argue that in his opinion all the documents in the MS. preceding the Psalter were written a considerable time before the Psalter itself because he calls them prolegomena, as to infer that in his opinion all that succeeds the Psalter was added some time later because he describes it as an appendix. Then, in proof of this so-called appendix being a later addition, Mr. Ffoulkes alleges the fact that it entitles the Te Deum, "Hymnus quem S. Ambrosius et S. Augustinus invicem condiderunt;" the Apostles' Creed, "Symbolum sanctorum Apostolorum;" and the Athanasian, "Fides S. Athanasii episcopi Alexandrini." "None of these titles," he asserts, "are older than the ninth century, and it was some time before they got into

* 'The Athanasian Creed: by whom written,' etc. p. 807.

general use even then."* But arguments of this kind are clearly inconclusive; for considering the vast destruction and loss of documents which has occurred from the ninth century downwards, it would not follow, from the absence of documentary evidence in support of the fact of these titles being used previous to that period, that they were not so used.

Documents earlier than that, in which they occurred, might have perished. Evidence, however, in the present instance is not wanting in addition to that supplied by this Vienna Psalter. In a MS. of a Hymnarium or Antiphonarium in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, there is a copy of the 'Te Deum,' with the title, "Hæc est Laus sanctæ Trinitatis, quam Augustinus sanctus et Ambrosius composuit." This MS. is written, according to the late Dr. Todd, in "the round and bold Irish characters found in our Irish Biblical MSS. of the sixth and seventh centuries." It may therefore be as old as the sixth century; but he pronounces it to be certainly not later than the tenth century.† In the middle of the ninth century, in his work on Predestination, which was written, according to Sirmond, A.D. 856, Hincmar speaks of the story respecting the composition of the 'Te Deum' by St. Ambrose and St. Augustine at the baptism of the latter

* 'The Athanasian Creed: by whom written,' etc. p. 307.

† Articles by Dr. Todd in 'Cambridge Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology,' No. 11, pp. 271–278. Cambridge, 1854.

as a tradition of old standing at that time.* It is highly probable, therefore, to say the least, that it was current in the latter part of the eighth century. Of the use of the title "Symbolum Apostolorum" before the ninth century there is abundant proof. It is found among some directions drawn up by Alcuin for the practice of private prayer in his book 'De Psalmorum usu,' the first part.† From this it is evident that the title was perfectly well known, and in common use in Alcuin's time; for he introduces it as a familiar recognized term, as much so as "Oratio Dominica," which occurs just before. Alcuin died at the commencement of the ninth century A.D. 804; and in all probability this work was composed some considerable time before his death for the use of his pupils and monks. This title also appears in the Canon of Autun, which directs the Apostles' Creed, "Symbolum Apostolorum," and the Athanasian to be recited by the clergy. Whether or not this Canon is rightly assigned to a Council held under St. Leodegar A.D. 676 or 677, it is certainly older than the ninth century, being incorporated in the Herovall collection of Canons, which in the judgment of learned men was compiled prior to the reign of Charlemagne. But, as we shall see by-and-by, there are sufficient grounds for believing it to be one of St. Leodegar's Canons. This is proof enough of the use of the title in the eighth, if not the

* Appendix, Note J.

† Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. ci. p. 468.

seventh century. But indeed it is indisputably far more ancient. It is used by St. Isidore of Seville,* and that as a term, which was in his age common and well understood. And it is used by St. Ambrose, for instance in a synodical epistle addressed by him conjointly with others to Pope Siricius.† Lastly, that the Athanasian Creed was attributed to St. Athanasius before the ninth century, is evident from the Canon of Autun, already referred to, which describes the Creed as "the faith of St. Athanasius." In confirmation of this we have the authority of the Ballerini for adducing a MS. collection, Vat. Palat. 574, in the additions to which, assigned by them to the eighth century, the Creed is entitled 'Fides Catholica B. Athanasii Episcopi.'‡ The Ballerini also assert that the Creed is inscribed with the name of Athanasius in MSS., and by writers of the eighth, as well as the ninth century; and the statement of such learned men is entitled to consideration. Such is the case in the St. German's MS., which was written, according to Montfaucon, before the reign of Charlemagne. No doubt this is evidence which Mr. Ffoulkes will not allow. But he must admit that at the very commencement of the ninth century the Creed was widely attributed to St. Athanasius, in

* 'De Ecclesiasticis Officiis,' lib. ii. cap. 24.

† 'S. Ambrosii Epistolæ,' xlii. 5; 'Opera,' tom. ii. p. 967. Paris, 1690.

‡ 'Observationes in Quesnelli Dissertationem,' iii. 1; 'De Auctore Symboli Quicunque,' Gallandii 'Sylloge.'

particular by Alcuin, if he was indeed the writer of the work on the Procession ascribed to him; by Theodulph of Orleans; by the Frank Monks at Jerusalem; by Hatto of Basle; by Jesse of Orleans; and Agobard of Lyons. He has his way of accounting for this phenomenon. All these persons, forsooth, with one consent were fulfilling the behests of Charlemagne in propagating the lie which he invented. Those, however, who do not accept Mr. Ffoulkes' theory, will argue that the opinion with respect to the authorship of the Creed, which obtained so widely at the commencement of the ninth century, must have originated in an earlier age, probably one much earlier. Is it conceivable that the MSS. which these various writers, separated from one another by long distances, made use of, and in which they found the Creed described as "Fides Athanasii," or the like, were none of them written before the year A.D. 800? I think I have shown that the Apostles' Creed was called "Symbolum Apostolorum" as early as the fourth century (for St. Ambrose died A.D. 397); that the Athanasian was certainly attributed to St. Athanasius before the ninth century; and that the tradition respecting the 'Te Deum' being the work of St. Augustine and St. Ambrose, in all probability was current before that epoch. It would be then absurd to maintain that the so-called appendix to the Vienna Psalter could not have been written in the latter part of the eighth century because it entitles the Apostles' Creed "Sym-

bolum Sanctorum Apostolorum," and ascribes the Quicunque to St. Athanasius, the Te Deum to St. Augustine and St. Ambrose.

26. Among some additions to an ancient Gallican collection of Canons described by the Ballerini, the Athanasian Creed occurs, preceded by the note "Incipit fides catholica B. Athanasii episcopi." * This is a copy of the Creed of which no notice has been taken hitherto; and it may fairly be regarded as another evidence of the existence of the Creed prior to the ninth century, as the Ballerini consider that the appendix of which it forms a part was added to the original collection in the eighth century. This, however, cannot be put forward as certain evidence; for no date is assigned by them to the MS. which contains the collection with its additions, and which is marked Vat. Pal., 574; and it is therefore possible that the MS. might have been written later than the eighth century, although the additions were not made later, and the collection itself was formed earlier still; and the Creed may have been inserted by the copyist, and not have been one of the original additions. But neither of these hypotheses is probable. Had the Creed been so inserted, probably it would have been the last in order of the additions, which it is not; had the MS. been written after the eighth century, probably it would have contained among its additions

* 'Ballerini de Ant. Collect. Can.' pars. ii. cap 10, § 3, in Galland's 'Sylloge.'

some document of a later date than A.D. 756, which it does not. The evidence, therefore, is probable; but it cannot be relied on as certain.

27. We have yet earlier evidence from MSS. of the Creed's existence. The St. German's manuscript, described by Montfaucon as "Sangermanensis noster num. 257," is considered by that eminent palæographer to have been written before the age of Charlemagne; for he assigns the Colbertine MS. to the age of Pepin, and pronounces this to be at least as old—"Paris saltem antiquitatis."* It is written, he says, in Saxon characters; it contains the whole of the Creed, including, of course, the Damnatory clauses so-called; and gives the title, "Fides sancti Athanasii Episcopi Alexandriæ." Neither Mr. Ffoulkes nor Dr. Swainson have stated their grounds for rejecting Montfaucon's opinion respecting the date of this MS.—a silence peculiarly surprising in the former, who pronounces Montfaucon to be the most brilliant in "all that galaxy" of Benedictine editors of the Fathers, adding that "he had probably seen and examined more MSS. relating to his special subjects than any writer before or since."† Surely, until the illustrious Benedictine, who spent his life in the study of ancient documents, is proved to have been wrong in this matter (and this has not yet been proved), we may confidently

* 'Diatribe in Symbolum Quicunque,' in the Benedictine edition of St. Athanasius' works.

† 'The Athanasian Creed Reconsidered,' pp. 16, 17.

rely upon his judgment, and feel assured that in this MS. alone, apart from all other evidence to the same effect, we have sufficient evidence of the existence of the Creed in its completeness before the ninth century.

28. The next MS. which calls for notice, as bearing evidence to the antiquity of the Creed, is in the National Library at Paris, Latin No. 3836, formerly numbered 784 in the Colbert Library. It is a copy of an ancient collection of Canons, written in Lombardic characters (Montfaucon erroneously says in Saxon), and Montfaucon tells us that experts in his day (and his own opinion coincided with theirs) dated it about the age of Pepin; *i.e.* the middle of the eighth century.* The authors of the 'Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique' state that "the Latinity and the faulty spelling prove clearly enough that it was written before the revival of letters in the time of Charlemagne."† Palæographers of the present day set it even earlier—in the early part of the eighth century. Such is the opinion, says Dr. Swainson, "of every one who has examined it."‡ After the sentence, "Explicit sinodum mundanum id est universale aput Calcedona," the following note is introduced, written in capital letters, and in red: "Hæc invini Treveris in uno libro scriptum sic incipiente Domini Nostri Jhesu Christi et reliqua Domini Nostri Jhesu Christi fideliter

* Montfaucon, 'Diatribe.' † 'Nouveau Traité,' tom iii. p. 73.

‡ 'A Plea for Time,' etc. p. 8. See also Professor Stubbs' letter in 'The Guardian,' April 17, 1872.

credat." Then follows, in black ink, "Est ergo fides recta," etc. down to "fideliter custodire." This document, with the introductory note, is given in the Appendix (note K), copied from the fac-simile which has been printed by the Palæographical Society. It has been hitherto described as a MS. of the Athanasian Creed, or rather of a fragment of the Creed. Dr. Swainson, following, he says, the Dean of Westminster, impugns the correctness of this description.* And every one who examines the document carefully will be disposed to agree with their conclusion, that it is not the Athanasian Creed, strictly speaking, nor a portion of it. It is not a creed at all; it is rather a fragment of a sermon or exposition, addressed apparently to the candidates for Baptism after the traditio symboli, in which the preacher adapts the latter portion of the Athanasian Creed for the purpose of giving instruction respecting the doctrine of the Incarnation; and had the whole of this document been preserved, possibly we should have found that a similar use had been made of the former part, relating to the Trinity. Hence this fragment does not follow the ordinary text of the Creed word for word, but varies from it considerably: the conclusion is entirely different; one clause is altogether omitted; the commencing words—"D. N. J. C. fideliter credat"—are the same with those which conclude the 29th clause—"Furthermore, it is necessary," etc.—but in every sub-

* 'Plea for Time,' etc. p. 11.

sequent clause there is more or less diversity of reading; and though some of these variations are trifling, and some—such as "confitemur" for "confiteamur," and "unitatem" for "unitate"—may possibly not have been in the original document, but have arisen from the carelessness or ignorance of the copyist, still, for so brief a document, the difference is considerable. But some of the expressions peculiar to this document afford more distinct evidence that the above account of it is the true one. Thus after "ad dexteram Dei Patris sedet" the words "sicut vobis in symbolo traditum est" are introduced, and just before "passus" we find inserted "secundum fidem nostram;" and the words "ad judicandos vivos et mortuos *credimus et speramus* eum esse venturum" seem corroborative of this view. Then there is the conclusion: "This is the holy and Catholic faith, which every one who desires to attain to eternal life *ought to know perfectly* (scire integre), and to guard faithfully." Such language a person instructing a body of Catechumens in the faith would naturally adopt as more suitable to their position than the ordinary termination of the Creed. It is evident, too, that the scribe did not recognise in the document he found at Treves a fragment of the Athanasian Creed. Had he done so, he would probably have described it as "Fides Catholica" or "Fides Athanasii," or the like; for the "Quicunque vult" must have been well known at Treves in the early part of the eighth century.

By admitting that the document, of a portion of which we have a copy in this Colbert MS., is not the Athanasian Creed, Dr. Swainson has undermined his own theory. In the early stage of the recent controversy a notion was spread abroad that the Athanasian Creed, which has been recited in the Church a thousand years and more, is not the genuine original Athanasian Creed, that the Damnatory Clauses might be proved to be comparatively late additions, and might therefore be removed to make room for other clauses pronouncing no condemnation without affecting the integrity or identity of the Creed. The MS. we are speaking of was mainly appealed to in support of this notion, and with considerable effect. Here was a copy of the latter part of the Athanasian Creed in its original type, and its concluding clause is perfectly different from the concluding clause as it now stands. The former then, and not the latter, must be the right text; and no doubt, if we had the whole document, the clauses at the commencement and in the middle would be found to have corresponded with that at the termination, to have been affirmative, not negative; commendatory, not condemnatory. Many, including persons of influence and high position, were for a while captivated by the idea thus presented, as affording a basis for an easy solution of what appeared to them a serious difficulty. Let us only revert, was in effect proposed, to the original Creed, and we shall be able to retain the exposition, which we all

value, of the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, and at the same time get rid of those warnings, respecting the penalty of disbelief in the Catholic faith, which are so offensive to many excellent people. Whether, by the way, all these excellent people would be willing to accept the concluding clause of the Treves fragment is a point open to question, but one which we need not stop to consider. An attempt at action in the direction proposed was made by the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury by the appointment of a committee, in the summer of 1871, "to undertake *a revision of the Text*, and a retranslation of the Quicunque vult." The results must have been somewhat disappointing to those who hoped for great things from the investigations of this committee. However, their lordships actually reported, induced by "*critical and historical reasons*," in favour of substituting the concluding sentence of the Colbert or Treves fragment for the last clause of the Creed as it now stands.* Yet most inconsistently, while adopting this reading as the true one, from "critical and historical reasons," upon the sole unsupported authority of the Colbert MS., they were not induced by the same reasons to accept the other peculiarities of that document, but rejected almost all of them; notably, the omission of the 37th clause: "For as the reasonable soul," etc. If the sole authority of this MS. is to be allowed to rule the text in one instance, why not in all?

* 'Report of Committee of Bishops,' etc. p. 19.

And if in regard to other peculiarities, particularly the omission of the 37th clause, it is rejected, why must it be held to be conclusive as regards the final clause? However, all this visionary fabric has now vanished, scattered by the hand which aided so largely in its construction. For if this Colbert MS. is not the Athanasian Creed, as Dr. Swainson avers, and I believe rightly, it follows, first, that to appeal to it as determining the true text of the Creed would be absurd; and next, that no manuscript of the Creed can be produced from which the so-called Damnatory Clauses are absent; for it is admitted that they appear in all MSS. of the Creed which have ever been known, with the exception of this single one from the Colbert Library; and if this does not present us with a copy of the Athanasian Creed, nor of a fragment of it, but of something else, the exception no longer holds. And hence it further follows, that to remodel the Creed in the manner proposed would be, not a return to its original type, but the construction of a new Creed. The nineteenth century, which will barely tolerate the ancient Creeds, is not likely to submit to the imposition of a new one.

But although this MS. does not, strictly speaking, supply us with a copy of the Athanasian Creed, nor of a fragment of it, it furnishes evidence of the antiquity of the Creed; certain evidence of its being older than the eighth century, probable evidence of its being very much older. The person who composed the sermon or

address, a fragment of which is here preserved, must have been familiar with the Creed, at any rate with the latter part relating to the Incarnation, which he has clearly adapted, altering and omitting wherever it suited his purpose. Upon no other hypothesis is it possible to account for the amount of coincidence with the Creed in form and language which the Colbert fragment presents, notwithstanding its great peculiarities. Hence it would be very interesting to ascertain the date of this document's composition; for whatever that may have been, the Creed must have existed at a yet earlier period. Now the manuscript which the scribe of the Colbert MS. found at Treves in a mutilated condition, and from which he took his copy in the early part of the eighth century, must have been written much before that—according to Antelmi, 150 years; according to Tillemont, 50. Waterland, taking the mean between these conjectures, sets down the difference between the two manuscripts at 100 years. If, therefore, the palæographers are right in assigning the Colbert MS. to the early part of the eighth century, we may reasonably suppose that the Treves MS. was not written later than the middle of the seventh. This, then, is the latest period at which we can conceive it possible that the document, of which in its perfect condition the latter manuscript must have been a copy, was composed; but it may have been, and probably was, composed much earlier. It is not likely that the Treves copy was the

original manuscript, written by the author, or at his dictation. The internal evidence, too, of the document itself stamps it as the product of an age prior to the seventh century. Waterland argues, from the omission of the 37th clause of the Creed, that the Treves "manuscript was written while the Eutychian controversy was at the height—about the end of the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth"*—upon the ground that the illustration contained in that clause, "As the reasonable soul," etc., owing to the Monophyrites wresting it to their own sense, after the rise of Eutychianism, was avoided by the Catholics, though before that they had made frequent use of it in confuting the Apollinarians. This argument was suggested to him by the converse argument of Le Quien, which he adopts, and which was, that upon the same ground the use of this illustration or similitude by the Creed was a proof of its existence before the time of Eutyches.† Dr. Heurtley endorses Waterland's argument as to the probable date of the document preserved to us in part by the Treves and Colbert MSS. Pace tanti viri, would it not have been more correct to say that this document was composed "while the Eutychian controversy was at its height," than that the MS. was written then? Waterland evidently was betrayed into this language by the impression that the manuscript was a copy of

* 'Critical History of the Athanasian Creed,' p. 72. Oxford edition, 1870. † Ibid, pp. 147, 148.

the Creed itself, not of an address adapting the Creed. Dr. Swainson carries up the date still higher. "I am driven to the conclusion," he says, "that this fragment is of an earlier date than the Council of Chalcedon; *i.e.* earlier than A.D. 451."* And, I must repeat, the document referred to clearly points to the pre-existence of the Athanasian Creed, at least of the latter part of it; so that by the Colbert manuscript we are led to accept it as certain that the Creed was extant early in the seventh century, as probable, that it was extant early in the fifth.

Mr. Ffoulkes, nothing daunted by the consent of the palæographers respecting the date of this Colbert MS. (No. 3836 in the National Library at Paris, not 3816 as he represents it), contends that it cannot be older than the ninth century, at the commencement of which, it will be recollected, according to his theory, the Athanasian Creed was first published to the world, because it contains four spurious documents and the Decree of Pope Gelasius concerning books.† Were spurious documents then unknown before the ninth century? Was this the case with the Gelasian Decree? First with regard to the four documents in question, if any reliance can be placed upon the judgment of persons most competent to form an opinion upon the subject, there can be as little doubt of their having been fabricated not only

* 'A Plea for Time,' etc. p. 34.

† 'Athanasian Creed Reconsidered,' etc. pp. 49–55.

before the ninth, but before the eighth century, as of their spurious and apocryphal character. Three of them, the *Constitutum* of Silvester, the *Gesta de Xysti purgatione et Polychromii Jerosolymitani episcopi adcusatione,* and the Acts of Marcellinus or of the apocryphal Synod of Sinuessa, have evidently for their object the assertion of the principle that the Pope can be judged by no man; and on this account, as well as by reason of their resemblance of style, for they are remarkable for the barbarism and obscurity of their language, Coustant in his account of this MS. arrives at the conclusion that they were all written about the same time, and proceeded from the same workshop. Though not equally distinct with respect to the fourth of these documents, the Acts of Liberius, he assigns it to the same class with the rest; and he believes that they were composed at the commencement of the sixth century, and with the object of defending the Synod which had acquitted Pope Symmachus of the charges brought against him, and remitted his cause to the divine disposal.* The Ballerini, who also describe the contents of the Colbert MS., accept Coustant's opinion with regard to the date and object of these forgeries.† Dollinger also, who treats fully of the subject, entirely

* Coustant, 'Dissertatio de Antiquis Canonum Collectionibus,' iv. 97–99, in Galland's 'Sylloge Dissertationum.'

† 'Ballerini de Antiquis Collectionibus Canonum,' ii. 6, 4, in Galland's 'Sylloge.'

coincides with this opinion.* Another theologian of our own day, Bishop Hefele, states apparently with approval the views of Coustant with regard to the Constitution of Silvester.† And independently of the judgment of learned men as to the time when these spurious documents were fabricated, we have external evidence of their existence in, and indeed prior to, the eighth century in addition to that furnished by this Colbert MS. There is another MS., Lucanus 88, containing the same collection of Canons which is found in the Colbert, and comprising also all these four documents.‡ This MS. is assigned to the age of Charlemagne. It may therefore be fairly put down to the latter part of the eighth century, as Charlemagne commenced his reign A.D. 768, and died in January, A.D. 814. They are also all found in another ancient collection described by the Ballerini from two MSS., Barberin. 2888, and Vat. 1342.§ The Ballerini do not assign any precise date to these manuscripts; but they could not have considered the former of them to be later than the commencement of the ninth century, because they speak of it as having possibly been given soon after that time to the Amiatine monastery in Etruria, by Theobald, Bishop of Clusium. The latter

* 'Fables respecting the Popes,' translated by Plummer, pp. 82-84, 93.

† Hefele, 'History of Councils,' translated by Clark, p. 445.

‡ Ballerini, 'De Collect.' ii. 6, 4.

§ Ballerini, 'De Ant. Collect.' par. ii. cap 7.

is described by Montfaucon as "elegantissimus et antiquissimus;" and he would scarcely have called it "antiquissimus," had he not thought that it was written before the ninth century. But the collection itself may be, and probably is, much older than the manuscripts which contain it; and the antiquity of the collection is apparent, in the opinion of the Ballerini, from its comprising no document of more recent origin than the age of Pope Gelasius, and drawing nothing from the collection of Dionysius. Again, Alcuin, writing A.D. 800 to his friend Arno, Archbishop of Salzburg, who was at that time at Rome, having gone there as one of Charlemagne's commissioners for the purpose of settling the troubles in which Leo. III. had become involved, and reinstating the outraged and expelled Pope, employs the following language: "I remember having formerly read, if my memory is correct, in the Canons of the blessed Silvester, that a Bishop ought not to be accused and presented for trial upon the evidence of less than seventy-two witnesses. . . . . Moreover, in other canons I used to read that the Apostolic see is entitled to sit in judgment, and should not be subject to be brought under judgment."* At the time when Alcuin wrote this he was an old man in declining health; and his language clearly intimates that not only at that time, but some years previously, at an earlier period of his life, the Constitution of

* 'Alcuini Epist.' 108, Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. c. pp. 325, 326.

Silvester and the Acts of Marcellinus, or of the Council of Sinuessa, were both extant and esteemed authentic. For these are unquestionably the documents alluded to as having been read by him formerly, and to which he refers Arno for guidance in arranging the difficulties at Rome respecting the Pope. It may be noticed by the way that the suggestion of Alcuin was acted upon. Leo III. was not tried, but allowed to purge himself upon oath of the crimes laid to his charge—adultery apparently and perjury. The testimony of Alcuin would alone prove that these documents were in the latter part of the eighth century regarded as authentic and authoritative; and therefore it is most unlikely that they were at that time recent compositions. They must have been extant some time to have acquired the credit which they then possessed. That the Constitution of Silvester was extant and deemed authentic in the eighth century appears also from the fact of its being quoted in the Herovall Collection, which was compiled before the time of Charlemagne, the quotation being there headed, "In epistola Silvestri papæ."* And the same passage appears more fully in the Penitentiale of Theodore, who died A.D. 690.† Yet, although we have evidence of the existence of the above-mentioned four apocryphal documents in the eighth century, and in the opinion of learned men they originated in the commencement of

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. xcix: p. 1040.
† Ibid, pp. 947, 948.

the sixth, we are told that the Colbert MS. cannot have been written before the ninth, because it contains them! And how does Mr. Ffoulkes prove his case? Respecting the age of three of these documents, he has not a word to say; with respect to the fourth, the Constitution of Silvester, which he describes as the Acts of Silvester, he admits that it was known and heard of "towards the end of the eighth century!" Moreover, he seems to confuse the Constituta Silvestri with the Donation of Constantine. But they are perfectly distinct, and considered to be the products of different periods: the former being the acts and canons of two fictitious synods represented as being held at Rome under Silvester; the latter being the famous deed, now universally allowed to be a forgery, in which Constantine, immediately after his baptism, and to show his gratitude for the cure of his leprosy wrought by Silvester, confers upon that Pope and his successors the possession of Rome and Italy, together with various ecclesiastical and civil privileges. The latter is believed by Dollinger to have been drawn up in Rome between A.D. 750 and A.D. 774.* And this appears to fall in with the general opinion that it was extant some time before the compilation of the pseudo-Isidorian Collection, into which it was adopted. The date assigned to the Constituta of Silvester has been already mentioned.

Then Mr. Ffoulkes contends that the Colbert MS.,

* 'Fables of the Popes,' p. 124.

now in the Paris Library, No. 3836, cannot be earlier than the ninth century, because it contains the celebrated decree of Pope Gelasius respecting books. But here again he makes an admission which is fatal to his own case; for he admits that this decree was not only extant, but well known in the latter part of the eighth century—so well known, in fact, that it was referred to expressly by Charlemagne in the Caroline Books, and condemned (so thinks Mr. Ffoulkes) in the same monarch's Capitulare of A.D. 789. To pass from this,—On what grounds does he rest his position? That the Gelasian Decree is not found in the collections of Dionysius or Cresconius, nor in that given by Pope Adrian to Charlemagne, nor in any collection from which the acts of Silvester are absent, and that it is considered spurious by Cave. He might have strengthened his case against the genuineness of the document by adducing the authorities of Bishops Pearson and Beveridge; by the former of whom this is denied, and by the latter doubted. On the other hand, a list of equally great names might be produced who maintain its authorship by Gelasius; among them, Mabillon, Coustant, the Ballerini, Mansi. But the question at issue is not whether this decree was really the work of Gelasius, but whether it was extant in the eighth century, in that particular form too in which it appears in the Colbert MS.? This disposes also of the argument drawn from the silence of Dionysius and Cres-

conius, who both lived before the eighth century. It is simply irrelevant. As to the silence of Adrian's collection, a negative argument of this kind cannot have the slightest weight against a single positive proof of the existence of the document in question at the time when that collection was made, or prior to it. And supposing it to be the fact that the decree of Gelasius is not found in any collection from which the Acts or Constituta of Silvester are absent, how can that prove its non-existence even in the early part of the eighth century, considering that the latter works were certainly extant at that time, and, as there is reason to believe, originated long before? Mr. Ffoulkes having failed to prove that the Gelasian Decree was not extant before the ninth century, his argument that the Colbert MS. could not be of an earlier date because it contains this document, necessarily falls to the ground; for the burthen of proof rested upon him. Here, therefore, we might leave the matter, even were there no evidence, beyond that afforded by the Colbert MS., of the existence of the Gelasian Decree prior to the ninth century. But, independently of that, there is abundant and conclusive evidence to the same effect. In the MS. marked Lucanus 88, which, as has been already mentioned, is believed to be of the age of Charlemagne, the decree appears in the same form as in the Colbert MS. This would, however, only carry us up to A.D. 768; but it is found in the same form in yet earlier MSS., in Vatic.

Palat. 493, which the high authority of Mabillon in his work, 'De Liturgia Gallicana,' published in 1685, pronounced to be about a thousand years old, and may therefore safely be assigned to the latter part of the seventh century, and in another of nearly the same date, marked 'Germanens. Fortunati.'* Thus we have clear independent proof of the existence of the Gelasian Decree in the form in which it is found in the Colbert MS., not only at the date to which the palæographers assign that manuscript, *i.e.* the early part of the eighth century, but even at the end of the seventh. We may therefore dismiss as utterly untenable the proposition that the presence of this Decree in the Colbert MS. shows that the latter is not earlier than the ninth century. It is worthy of notice, that of the three forms of the Decree described by the Ballerini,† that which appears in this manuscript is the shortest, and therefore may be regarded as the earliest; for it occurs in various forms, a comparison of which must make it obvious that it passed through a process of growth by receiving successive additions in the lapse of time. It may also be observed that in this form it is found in the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, which were completed

* See Coustant and Thiel 'De Decretali Gelasii Papæ.' Brunsbergæ, 1866. The decree, as it is found in Vat. 493, has been published by Fontaninus, 'De Antiquitatibus Hortæ,' and also by Mansi, who has placed side by side with it the text as given in Lucanus 88. They may be found in Migne, tom. lix.

† 'De Coll. Can.' pars. ii. cap. 11.

about the middle of the ninth century. Cave classed the Decree among the forgeries of the pseudo-Isidore, but in this he was certainly mistaken. The mere fact of its insertion in that collection would be no proof that it was composed by the unknown collector, even in the absence of positive testimony to its prior existence, nor even of its spuriousness; for that collection, together with much that is spurious, comprises also much genuine matter; and the spurious documents which it contains were not all the work of the pseudo-Isidore, several of them being by other hands and of an earlier age, as for instance the Donation of Constantine.* The evidence of the existence of the Gelasian Decree before the ninth century is not yet exhausted. It appears in other manuscripts assigned to the eighth century besides those above mentioned, but not in the same form, with certain additions or omissions, or both. It also appears in a much abbreviated form in the Herovall collection. It is twice appealed to in the Caroline Books, and that as a genuine and authoritative document;† and the fact of its being so regarded at the end of the eighth century alone proves it to be a much earlier work. St. Isidore of Seville, who flourished early in the seventh century, mentions among illustrious personages one Proba, who had composed 'Centonem de

* See Hinschius, 'De Collectione Isidori Mercatoris,' p. cix.

† Lib. ii. cap. 13, and lib. iv. cap. 10; Migne's 'Patrologia,' tom. xcviii. pp. 1078 and 1203.

Christo Virgilianis co-aptatum versiculis;' and he adds, 'Quod tamen opusculum inter apocryphas Scripturas inseritur.'* And in the list of apocryphal works in the decree we find 'Centonem de Christo Virgilianis compaginatum versibus.' From this there can be little doubt that the decree was extant in some form in the time of St. Isidore. Coustant also refers to the passage from Hormisdas, quoted by Pagi, as proving the authorship of Gelasius; but it can scarcely be considered conclusive.

Two more points only under this head require to be noticed. Mr. Ffoulkes suggests that a chapter concerning spurious writings, in Charlemagne's Capitulare of A.D. 789, was directed against the Gelasian Decree. But is this credible, seeing that Charlemagne, as Mr. Ffoulkes admits, refers to it as the genuine work of Gelasius, and that, too, but a very few years after? For the Libri Carolini are said to have been sent to Pope Adrian A.D. 794. The other point is this. He represents the Colbert MS. as belonging to the ninth century in Coustant's opinion, or rather in the judgment of palæographers, as stated by the latter. Certainly Coustant, in his account of the collection which it contains, says that experts of his day were of opinion that the manuscript had been written 900 years before. And as Coustant died in the year 1721, this would carry up the date to the commencement of the ninth century at the latest. But

* 'De Viris Illustribus,' cap. xviii.

when this learned man thus expressed himself, he must have meant that 900 years was the minimum age assigned to the MS. by experts; for in his treatise respecting the Gelasian Decree he describes it as of the same date with Vat. 493, which Mabillon considered 1000 years old in his day, and with 'Germanens. Fortunati,' another codex of similar antiquity.* Montfaucon too, who was a contemporary of Coustant's, says that *all the experts* assigned the Colbert MS. to the age of Pepin; and he himself believed it to have been written before the time of Charlemagne.

29. The Ambrosian MS. of the Athanasian Creed enables us to trace up its existence in its completeness to the early part of the eighth century, if not higher still. Muratori, who was librarian of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, in his 'Anecdota,' the first volume of which was published in 1697, and the second in the following year, gives the text of the Creed as it is found in this MS. (marked Ambros. O. 212), and some account of the MS. itself. The MS. originally belonged to the monastery of St. Columbanus at Bobbio, of which it bears the press-mark on its cover, and was brought from thence to the Ambrosian Library by Cardinal Frederick Borromeo. It is written in Lombardic characters, and belongs to the seventh century, if Muratori is right as to its date; for, writing at the end of the seventeenth

* 'De Decretali Gelasii Papæ Coustantii Animadversiones,' edidit Thiel, Brunsbergæ, 1866, cap. iii.

century, he says it was written at least a thousand years before. The Creed appears without introduction or title, beginning abruptly, "Quicunque vult," etc., and this, according to Muratori, is a sign of antiquity; for in the most ancient MSS. he says that it is not ascribed to any author. Other confessions of faith are comprised also in this codex, those attributed to Gennadius and St. Jerome, and the apology of Bachiarius. The first of these, like the "Quicunque vult," is without name of author, being simply described as "Dogmatis liber," and this is another sign of antiquity.* Montfaucon, who saw the MS. during his visit to Milan, assigns it to the eighth century.† The present learned librarian is of opinion that it is certainly not later than the eighth century, and was probably written in Ireland or England.‡ It is almost superfluous to mention that the text of this very ancient MS. gives all the so-called Damnatory Clauses in their usual form. It presents a remarkable addition to the 23rd Clause, concerning the Holy Spirit—"Patri et Filio coæternus est"—and, like the San German and Utrecht MSS., reads "in carne" and "in Deo" in the 35th. The other variations are not important. Respecting this MS. Dr. Swainson observes a discreet silence. Mr. Ffoulkes makes an ineffectual attempt to shuffle over the difficulty, saying

* Muratori, 'Anecdota,' tom. ii. pp. 224, 225, 230.

† 'Diar. Italicum,' p. 18.

‡ See letter by the Rev. J. W. Burgon in 'The Guardian,' Feb. 5, 1873.

that Montfaucon "placed the MS. a century later without hesitation" than Muratori.* If this were the case, this MS., which contains the complete Creed, would have been written, in the opinion of Montfaucon, about a quarter of a century before the time when, according to Mr. Ffoulkes, the Creed first saw the light; *i.e.* A.D. 802, and very nearly a century before the time when, according to Dr. Swainson, its period of growth was terminated; *i.e.* A.D. 870. But Montfaucon simply calls it a MS. of the eighth century,† so that clearly, in his judgment, it might have been written early in that century; and the difference between his opinion and that of Muratori is not necessarily so great; for the latter, in his first volume, which was published in 1697, pronounces this manuscript to be more than 1000 years old, and thus the latter part of the seventh century—say A.D. 670 or A.D. 680, but not later—is the date of it, if his opinion is correct.‡ It should be remembered that Muratori was well acquainted with this MS., which was under his care, and his opinion as to its date is therefore entitled to peculiar consideration; whereas Montfaucon had seen it but once; viz., when he visited the Ambrosian Library in 1698. Waterland strikes a balance between the opinions of these two learned men by assigning A.D. 700 as the date.

* 'The Athanasian Creed: by whom written,' etc. p. 303.

† 'Codex viii. Sæculi Charactere Langobardico;' Montfaucon, 'Diar. Italicum,' p. 18.

‡ Appendix, Note L.

30. The date of the celebrated Canon of Autun, requiring of the clergy the recital of the Apostles' and the Athanasian Creeds, has been much debated; but it is really not a point of very great importance, as there is ample independent evidence—sufficient, at least, to satisfy any unprejudiced person—to prove the existence of the latter Creed at the date which must be assigned to this Canon; viz., A.D. 676 or 677, if it is indeed one of the Canons adopted at the Synod held under St. Leodegar, or St. Leger, Bishop of Autun. But its genuineness is of importance to this extent, that if it is established, a proof is thereby supplied that in the latter part of the seventh century the Athanasian Creed was already attributed to St. Athanasius, and in one diocese at least ordered to be learnt by the clergy. And this alone would be evidence of a pre-existence of some considerable duration.

The Canon, as found in the Herovall collection, is as follows: "If any presbyter, deacon, or clerk should not recite the symbol of the Apostles, and the faith of the holy Athanasius, let him be censured by the Bishop."*

Waterland admitted that in his day the genuineness of this Canon did not rest upon conclusive evidence, and expressly proposed it not "as clear and undoubted evidence, but probable only."† The position of the question has, however, been materially affected by the

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. xcix. p. 991.

† 'Crit. Hist. of the Athanasian Creed,' Oxford edition, p. 24.

recent work of Professor Maassen, of Vienna, on Canon Law, entitled 'The History of the Sources and Literature of Western Canon Law to the end of the Middle Ages,' which supplies much additional information respecting this Canon, and furnishes clear and sufficient evidence of its genuineness. This testimony is all the more convincing because Professor Maassen's work was composed without any intentional reference to the controversy concerning the history and origin of the Athanasian Creed, and only incidentally touches upon the Canon of Autun in connection with two collections of Canons which it describes. For my knowledge of this work I am entirely indebted to the courtesy of the Very Rev. H. C. Powell, Provost of Inverness Cathedral, who has supplied me with a translation of so much of it as relates to the subject under consideration.

The genuineness of this Canon appears from its connection with the Herovall and Angers collections of Canons. The former of these collections received its name from that of a quondam owner of the MS. by which it is best known, and from which it has been printed in an abridged form; viz., Anthony d' Herouval. The title of the latter is the invention of Professor Maassen, his reason for choosing it being that the MS., which was the occasion of first drawing attention to the collection, was found by Sirmond at Angers, and made use of by him in his "Concilia Antiqua Galliæ." They are both systematic collections; *i.e.* the Canons are

arranged not according to the dates of the several Councils at which they were enacted, but in classes or chapters, with reference to their subject-matter. And they have a close relationship, the Herovall being formed upon the basis of the other, though drawing also from independent sources; and hence it is obviously the later of the two, and if we can ascertain the date of its compilation, or arrive at a near approximation as to its date, this will be a guide to the period when the earlier and parent collection was constructed.

The Canon of Autun is the first of the two Canons which constitute the first chapter of the Herovall Collection, under the title "De fide Catholica et Symbolo;" and it has the heading "Canon Augustodunensis Æra 1." This is clear from a comparison of no fewer than seven existing MSS. of the collection enumerated by Maassen. By the way, the word "Æra" in these headings of the Canons evidently means "number;" so "Canon Toletanus, Æra 2," the second Canon of the third Council of Toledo; and "Canon Nicænus, Æra 1," the first Canon of the Council of Nice; and the like. And not only does the Herovall Collection describe the Canon we are referring to as a Canon of Autun, but as a Canon of the Synod presided over by St. Leodegar, thus precluding the hypothesis that it might have been drawn up at some other Council of Autun; for prefixed to the collection in all the MSS. is a table of the various Canons contained in it, arranged according to

the Councils at which they were adopted, and the last upon the list are "Canones Augustodunensium sancti Leodegarii episcopi."* It may be objected that there are other Autun Canons in the 51st chapter of the collection, and the titles in the table may refer to them only. But surely it is natural to conclude that it refers to *all* the Autun Canons given in the collection, no other Synods of Autun being mentioned; and we are confirmed in this conclusion by noticing that in other cases where Canons are comprised in the collection which had been adopted at various Councils held at the same place, the table expressly mentions the different Councils. Thus we have "Canones Aurelianenses episcoporum xxi., Canones item Aurelianenses episcoporum xxxv., Canones item Aurelianenses tertiæ et quartæ synodi." In other instances the number of Bishops present is always given; the Autun Synod being a Diocesan Synod, the name of the presiding Bishop is given, and necessarily his alone.

Of course the value of the testimony which this collection bears to the genuineness of the Canon must depend very much upon its date. Had the collection been compiled some centuries after the age of Leodegar, its testimony would be entitled to little weight; but it is unquestionably the work of the eighth century, probably drawn up within a century after that Bishop's

* Maassen, vol. i. appendix xxiii.; and Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. xcix. p. 1076, note.

death. The latest date that can possibly be assigned to it is the beginning of the ninth century, the date of the earliest MS. of the collection now existing (Paris, 3848). But it is very unlikely that this is the original copy; and Petit, the editor of the collection, and the Ballerini alike conclude from internal evidence, but upon independent grounds, that it was compiled before the time of Charlemagne.* On the other hand, it cannot have been drawn up before A.D. 721; for this is the date of the latest document, of which the date is certain, contained in it; viz., the anathemas of Gregory II. and the Roman Synod of that year. It contains also a decretal which some ascribe to Stephen II.; and if they are right in so ascribing it, the composition of the collection cannot have taken place before the middle of the eighth century. Thus we have reason to believe that this collection, which bears such clear testimony to the genuineness of the Canon of Autun, was framed between A.D. 757, in which year Stephen II. died, and A.D. 770, or thereabouts; and possibly may have been as early as A.D. 722. Similar evidence in other cases is not considered worthless.

The date of the Angers Collection is determined within a certain limit by that of the Herovall. For the former, as has been already remarked, being the parent collection, must be the earlier; but it cannot

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. xcix. pp. 989–992; 'Canones Selecti Præfatio;' and Ballerini, 'De Ant. Collectionibus Canonum,' iv. 7, 4.

have been composed before the Council of Autun under Leodegar of A.D. 676 or 677, some of the Canons of which are found in it. So that it must have been drawn up in the first half of the eighth century, or late in the seventh; and most probably it was drawn up late in the seventh, as the Autun Canons are the latest documents which it contains.

The position of the Canon respecting the Athanasian Creed in the Angers Collection is not so clearly defined as in the Herovall. Six MSS. of the former at present existing are enumerated by Professor Maassen. In two of these the Canon appears, as in the Herovall Collection, as the first of two Canons forming the first chapter, under the title "De Fide Catholica." In two others it is not found in the body of the collection, but is the first of a number of pieces placed before the table of contents. In these the chapter "De Fide" is altogether omitted. In the two remaining MSS. the Canon apparently is not found at all. This suggests the possibility that the Canon of Autun and the other Canon (the thirteenth of the Council of Agde), comprised in the first chapter, did not originally form part of the collection, but were first prefixed to it as in the Einsiedeln and Vienna MSS., and from that position were subsequently transferred into the body of the collection. But, on the other hand, it may be urged that one of the MSS., Cod. Colon. (Darmstad, 2179), in which these two Canons form the first chapter of the

collection, under the title "De Fide Catholica," is the earliest of all the MSS., being of the eighth or ninth century, while the others are of the ninth; and also appears to be the most authentic, presenting the collection in its earliest type. "The source drawn from by the compiler," says Professor Maassen, "had certainly a close relationship with the Cologne MS." Moreover, had this chapter containing the Canon of Autun been a later addition, we should have expected that it would have been grafted on, not at the beginning of the collection, but at the end after the chapter, giving the table of Councils, which supply the Canons found in the collection, and entitled, "De episcopis qui suprascriptos canones firmaverunt et consenserunt;" for this must have been originally the concluding chapter. Later additions were of course usually placed at the end. But supposing that the Canon of Autun had not been in the Angers Collection as originally framed, but inserted afterwards, it would not follow from thence that it was not one of St. Leger's Canons; on the contrary, it would still be most probable, indeed almost certain, that it was so. For if it were not so, one of two alternatives must be true. Either it must have been a Canon of some other Council of Autun, and that a Council held late in the seventh century or early in the eighth; for the Canon being derived by the Herovall Collection from the Angers, it is clear that it must have been introduced into the latter (*i.e.* if it was

an after insertion at all) before the middle of the eighth century; and hence it could not have been enacted later than the early part of that century. Or else it must have been a forgery. But the former of these hypotheses is very improbable; for, first, there is no record of any Autun Canons enacted in the first half of the eighth century or late in the seventh; and, secondly, in the Table of Councils from which Canons are derived, already alluded to, there is no mention of any Autun Canons but those of St. Leger, or Leodegar. And had the Canon belonged to any other Council, even were it an after-insertion, it seems probable that mention would have been supplemented of the Council. It should be noticed that the same disciplinary Canons of Autun which appear in the 51st chapter of the Herovall Collection are found in a corresponding place in the Angers, being drawn by the one from the other. That the Canon should be a forgery is yet more improbable, improbable in the highest degree. For what conceivable end could have been served by such a forgery in the early part of the eighth century? And in any case, would the figment of a Canon only fifty years old, or thereabouts, passed by a Diocesan Council in Gaul, have answered a forger's purpose? A forger would have devised a Canon or Decretal of some Pope of the fifth century, or of the age of St. Athanasius.

On the whole the genuineness of the Canon is convincingly established by these two collections. Its

absence from two out of the six manuscripts of the earlier (the Angers) collection may possibly suggest a doubt whether it found a place in that collection when originally framed, but can afford no reason for supposing that it was not one of St. Leger's, or St. Leodegar's, Canons. If, however, it was not the work of the Synod held under that Bishop, then it must have been drawn up at some Council of Autun, of which there is no record, at the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century. As regards its witness to the antiquity of the Athanasian Creed, this would involve a difference of not above fifty years at the most.

It has been already mentioned that the 63rd chapter of the Angers Collection gives a Table of the Councils made use of by the compiler, consisting of twenty-six paragraphs, stating the numbers of the Bishops who were present at the several Councils, and who subscribed the Canons, together with in most cases the names of the principal of them. The last of these paragraphs, as transcribed by Professor Maassen from the Vienna MS., is very remarkable, being in fact the subscription word for word of St. Leger to the Autun Canons: "Consensum domni Leudegarii episcopi Agustuninsis: Ego Leudegarius, acsi peccator, Edue civitatis episcopus cum consensu fratrum meorum polliciti sumus et perpetualiter placuit conservandum." * In other paragraphs the Bishop of Autun in several instances is described

* Maassen, vol. i. pp. 967-9.

as the Bishop of the Ædui, of whom Autun was the principal city, and the title was applied to the Bishops of this see as late as the commencement of the sixteenth century. My object in quoting the above subscription is to draw attention to its life-like truthfulness and appearance of reality, which cannot fail to suggest the probability that the collection was compiled by some person who had access to the records of the Church of Autun, and within a short time of the Synod held there under Leodegar. It may have been the work of that very Bishop. This internal mark of authenticity clearly justifies an increased credit in the collection, especially as regards those Canons of Autun which it contains.

Mr. Ffoulkes raises a variety of difficulties and objections with the view of discrediting the Canon and those collections in which it is found. In the Herovall collection, as edited by Petit and printed by Migne, he says: "We have two lists of canons, at the beginning and end of this collection, which by no means square with each other."* At the time of writing this he was not acquainted with Maassen's work. He would have learnt from it that the list or Table of Canons or Councils which appears in the 70th chapter, not at the end, of the Herovall Collection, as edited by Petit, is simply an abridgment of the corresponding Table which is found in the 63rd chapter of the Angers Collection, under the title, "De episcopis qui suprascriptos canones

* 'Athanasian Creed: by whom written,' etc. pp. 287, 288.

consenserunt et firmaverunt;" whilst the Table or list, printed by Migne in a foot-note, is that of the Herovall Collection prefixed to it in all MSS.* Thus, as the two Tables or lists really belong to different collections, it is no wonder that they "by no means square with each other." This difficulty is therefore purely imaginary. Next, comparing the concluding paragraph of the former Table, "Consensio et confirmatio Leodegarii episcopi Augustodunensis," with the concluding paragraph of the latter, "Canones Augustodunensium sancti Leodegarii episcopi," and being under the impression that "there never was but one Canon of Autun supposed to be cited in this collection at all; namely, the Canon in question" —that relating to the Athanasian Creed—he arrives at the conclusion that "this collection was in its original shape framed during the lifetime of Bishop Leodegar," and "received his confirmation and approval;" that originally it contained no Canons of Autun whatever; that the Canon in question was added after the death of Leodegar, and, being placed at the commencement, "was designated 'Canon Augustodunensis, Æra I.;'" not as being the first, not even one among a series of Autun Canons, but "*as being the first of a collection confirmed by the Saint and former Bishop of that see.*"† The italics are mine. Here again it is unfortunate that Mr. Ffoulkes had not seen Professor Maassen's work

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. xcix. pp. 1075, 1076.

† 'Athanasian Creed,' etc. pp. 288, 289.

before writing his book. It might have saved him from this wild theorising; for no one can compare the concluding paragraph of the Table in the 70th chapter of the Herovall Collection with the concluding paragraph of the Table of the Angers Collection (which has been already given from Maassen) without perceiving that the former is simply the latter abridged, the subscription of Leodegar to the Autun Canons, which is found in the latter *totidem verbis*, being omitted in the former for the sake of brevity; and this is the more evident, when it is considered that the one Table is in general merely an abridgment of the other, as has been remarked. At the same time, the Herovall compiler clearly signified that the original Table contained the subscription of Leodegar by inserting the word "confirmatio." Mr. Ffoulkes has since discovered his mistake in asserting that the Herovall Collection never contained more than one Canon of Autun, meaning, of course, that this Bishop never subscribed any Canons of Autun at all. It really contains six besides the one in question.* Here, then, are some of the Canons which St. Leodegar subscribed, and there is not the slightest ground for the notion that what he subscribed was the Collection itself, not the Autun Canons, some of which are contained in it, and that this is the meaning of the last paragraph in the Table or list of Canons. Indeed, such a notion is forbidden by the title

* 'Athanasian Creed Reconsidered,' p. 43.

of the chapter in which the Table appears "concerning the Bishops who consented to and subscribed the Canons before-written;" *i.e.* the Canons comprised in the Collection. The confirmation or subscription of Leodegar stands last on the list simply because the Canons of Autun subscribed by him are the latest in the Collection. To compare this Collection with the African code of Canons is to compare two things which bear no kind of resemblance or parallel the one to the other. We do know that at the Council of Carthage, A.D. 419, the Canons of some previous African Councils were recited and ratified and added to those enacted by that Council, so that the general title in Dionysius described all the 138 as being passed by it, though really this was the case only with the 33 standing first; but we know nothing of any earlier Canons being ratified or confirmed at the Council of Autun held under Leodegar. Besides, at Carthage thirty-three Canons were enacted; but at Autun, Mr. Ffoulkes will have it that none were really drawn up and passed. Where, then, is his parallel?

Again, Mr. Ffoulkes objects to the Herovall Collection, that it contains the Decree of Gelasius on books, and a quotation from the Constitution of Silvester, and on this ground maintains that it cannot have been compiled before the ninth century.* But it has been shown, and I venture to think conclusively, that these documents were extant in the early part of the eighth century,

* 'Athanasian Creed: by whom written,' etc. p. 287.

and even earlier. In his later publication, written since he became acquainted with Professor Maassen's work, with the view apparently of discrediting both collections, he alleges that both contain spurious matter. "His" (*i.e.* Maassen's) "second collection on his own showing contains canons indubitably spurious; therefore, why not his first?" * And in support of this assertion, in a foot-note, he refers to 'Canones Romanorum sancti Silvestri Papæ'—a paragraph in the Table of the Herovall Canons. But the fact is that the Angers Collection does not, like the Herovall, quote the Canons or Constituta of Silvester, nor yet does it give the Decree of Gelasius, which Mr. Ffoulkes represents as equally spurious with the other document; it does, however, contain (if at least the authority of five out of six manuscripts is to be accepted) an apocryphal document which appears to have escaped Mr. Ffoulkes' notice, an apocryphal decretal of Pope Hormisdas. Let it be granted, then, that these two collections, each of which comprises a vast number of Canons and documents, do contain spurious matter, that in the later of them appear so many as two spurious documents—though, indeed, the Decree of Gelasius is far from being universally considered spurious, and that in the earlier collection there is found a single one—does it follow that they are altogether untrustworthy? Are other collections, which contain the Constituta of Silvester

* 'Athanasian Creed Reconsidered,' p. 38.

and other apocryphal matter to a greater extent indeed than either of these, deemed therefore utterly unreliable; as for instance the Lombardic, as it is called by Coustant? Or because the compilers of these collections, in common with the age in which they lived, believed in the genuineness of certain documents which by later ages have been on good grounds rejected as spurious, are we, therefore, to discredit their testimony respecting other documents, the genuineness of which has never been disproved, and concerning which they had special opportunities of forming a right judgment? In particular, the compiler of the Angers Collection, if not a contemporary of Leodegar, must have lived in the age immediately subsequent, and he appears to have been connected with the Church of Autun, at least to have had access to its records. He must have known whether these Autun Canons of St. Leodegar were rightly so described or not? What inducement could have occurred to him for representing them to be what he knew them not to be, for putting his hand to a deliberate falsehood, which at the time would have been transparent to all the world? In regard to Canons of a more remote period, he might have made a mistake; but in regard to these, such a thing was not possible. His error, if he committed one, must have been wilful.

Moreover, Mr. Ffoulkes finds, in the nature and language of the Canon itself, evidence that it cannot be of the early date claimed for it. In his judgment "this

is Caroline legislation, and cannot have formed part of any collection before the ninth century."* This is indeed an unanswerable argument. Yet some persons may think that, considering that at the eighth Council of Toledo, held in the middle of the seventh century, it was forbidden to admit any person to any of the Ecclesiastical Orders who should not know the whole Psalter, and the usual Canticles and Hymns, and the supplementary prayers customary at Baptism, it is not impossible nor inconceivable that in the latter part of the same century a Synod in Gaul may have required Presbyters and Deacons to recite the Athanasian Creed, as well as the Apostles'. It is very true that the baptized in general were only required to know by heart the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. But this Canon is for the Clergy, not the laity. Again, Mr. Ffoulkes urges against the genuineness of the Canon, that "till quite the end of the eighth century no Canon can be produced which speaks of the Apostles' Creed, but as the Creed simply." But if the title 'Symbolum Apostolorum' was made use of early in the seventh century, as by St. Isidore of Seville, and even in the fourth, as by St. Ambrose (and this has been already shown to be the case), is it impossible, or even improbable, that a Synod late in the seventh century should have adopted it in a Canon? In the Canon, as given by Harduin,† and by Sirmond, from the MS. found by him at Dijon, the Creed is

* 'Athanasian Creed Reconsidered,' p. 40. † Vol. iii. p. 1016.

described differently as "the Creed which the Apostles delivered by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit"—"Symbolum quod sancto inspirante Spiritu Apostoli tradiderunt." Probably this is not the true reading; it looks like a gloss or exposition based upon the tradition which is recorded by so early a writer as Rufinus. Still this description of the Creed, being derived from a writer who flourished in the latter part of the fourth century,* if it really belongs to the text, can be no more proof than the use of the title 'Apostles' Creed,' that the Canon was not drawn up in the seventh century.

Mr. Ffoulkes' last argument against the genuineness of this Canon is the one which calls for most consideration. The 51st chapter of the Herovall collection—"De Clericis Monacis vel Abbatibus"—contains, as has been noticed, six canons of Autun, numbered respectively, in Petit's edition (the only printed edition of the collection), 1, 5, 6, 8, 10, 15, so that the first is headed the same as the Canon in question, "Canon Augustodunensis, Æra I." Mr. Ffoulkes consequently contends that the last-named Canon; viz., that relating to the Athanasian Creed, "could not have proceeded from the same synod with these six, inasmuch as no synod ever published two different canons as its first canon;"† and again, "The Canon in question is barred from this synod

* Rufin. 'Exposit. Symboli,' p. 17.

† 'Athanasian Creed Reconsidered,' pp. 42, 43.

by its existing heading." This argument is not very consistent in one who maintains that these six canons were not really drawn up at the synod of Autun under Leodegar. But not to dwell upon that, the argument, plausible as it is, is not conclusive. In ancient documents, as every one knows, numerals, owing to the carelessness or ignorance of copyists, are frequently the subject of error. This is particularly the case in the Herovall collection, as must be apparent to any one who will cast his eye over a few pages of it in Migne's 'Patrologia' (tom. xcix.), and compare the numbering of the canons in the text with that given by the editor in the notes. It is impossible, therefore, to feel sure that the Autun Canon, at present numbered 1 in the 51st chapter, is correctly numbered; or possibly an error may have crept into the numbering of that which appears in the 1st chapter concerning the Creed, but this appears less likely; it is numbered the same in the MSS. of the Angers Collection. One thing is clear, that several canons were passed at the Autun synod, probably not fewer than fifteen, and none have been preserved to us with the exception of those found in these collections. It should be observed that it was from the latest MS. of the Herovall collection—one belonging to the eleventh century—that Petit edited the collection, or rather a selection from it. The numbering of the Autun Canons given above is derived from this edition. It would be interesting to ascertain

whether it is the same in the other MSS. of the Herovall Collection and in those of the Angers. It may be observed that Sirmond's 'Concilia Antiqua Galliæ,'* in which these Autun Canons were first edited, give the Canon of the 44th chapter of the Angers Collection, which corresponds with, or rather is the source of, the Autun Canon headed "Canon Augustodunensis, Æra I." in the 51st chapter of the Herovall, without any number prefixed. Sirmond refers the Autun Canon relating to the Athanasian Creed, as well as the other Autun Canons, which appear in the Angers and the Herovall Collections, to the Council presided over by St. Leger.

31. The testimony to the antiquity of the Creed supplied by the earliest commentary written upon it must now be considered.

If this commentary is the work, as Muratori and Waterland confidently maintain, of Venantius Fortunatus, an Italian by birth, who became Bishop of Poictiers, in France, late in the sixth century, the fact alone proves the Athanasian Creed to have been composed in the fifth century at the latest. Commentaries are not written upon recent and unknown works, but upon documents which are of divine origin, or have been accredited by the Church, or by long use and recognised merit have enshrined themselves in the esteem and love of the faithful. But "amicus Plato, magis amica veritas," with every disposition to render all

* 'Paris, 1629,' tom. i. pp. 506, 507.

becoming deference to the high authorities of Waterland and Muratori, I must in candour acknowledge that the evidence for the authorship of Venantius Fortunatus is not, to my mind, convincing. The evidence rests upon the single manuscript at Milan from which Muratori edited the commentary, and in which it is entitled "Expositio Fidei Catholicæ Fortunati." There can be little doubt that it is the "expositio," not the Creed "fides catholica," which is represented here as the work of Fortunatus. That Venantius Fortunatus is the person meant in this title would be too much to assume, Fortunatus being a common name; but what shows it to be so is, that the same MS. contains three commentaries upon the Apostles' Creed, the first being the undoubted work of Venantius, and introduced with the heading, "Incipit Expositio a Fortunato Presbytero Conscripta."* "Fortunatus Presbyter," too, is the well-known, and indeed distinctive, appellation of Venantius Fortunatus, who was not advanced to the Episcopate till late in life. Thus the testimony of this MS. to the authorship of Venantius is clear enough; but, considering that the MS. does not date earlier than the end of the eleventh century (such is Muratori's opinion), and that the three other known MSS. of the commentary, two of which appear to be much earlier, are perfectly silent respecting Fortunatus, and indeed the authorship in general, its testimony cannot be regarded as conclu-

* Muratori, 'Anecdota,' vol. ii. p. 331.

sive. Added to which, it is not corroborated by internal evidence. It is very true that Waterland asserts that "in the expositions of the Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds there is great similitude of style, thoughts, and expressions, which shows that both are of the same hand;"* but, on the other hand, according to the editor of Venantius Fortunatus' works in Migne's series,† Michael Angelus Luchus, the authors of the 'Literary History of France' deny that the commentary is the work of Venantius Fortunatus; and he himself agrees with their opinion, being induced to do so by the fact of its being written with greater elegance and refinement of style than is usually observable in the writings of Fortunatus. These are not persons whose judgments would have been biassed by anti-dogmatic and uncatholic objections to the Creed. Again, Professor Heurtley, after positively asserting the authorship of Venantius Fortunatus, has avouched himself "to be less satisfied than formerly" upon the point.‡ He has been led thus to modify his opinion by observing one or two discrepancies between this commentary and that of Venantius Fortunatus on the Apostles' Creed. "The author of the Commentary on the Athanasian Creed speaks of the Holy Ghost as 'proceeding from the Father and the Son;' Venantius Fortunatus, in his commentary

* 'Critical History,' etc. chap. iii. p. 44. Oxford edition, 1870.

† Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. cxxxviii. pp. 585, 586.

‡ Letter to 'The Guardian,' May 8, 1872.

on the Apostles' Creed, uses the form, 'De Dei ore procedens.'" He goes on to mention another more significant discrepancy. "Commenting on the words 'the quick and the dead,' the expositor of the Apostles' Creed writes: 'Aliqui dicunt "vivos" justos, "mortuos" vero injustos: aut certe "vivos," quos in corpore invenerit adventus Dominicus, et "mortuos" jam sepultos. *Nos tamen intelligamus "vivos et mortuos" hoc est animas et corpora pariter judicanda.*' The expositor of the Athanasian Creed mentions the two former interpretations: 'Vivos dicit eos quos tunc adventus Dominicus in corpore viventes invenerit, et mortuos jam ante sepultos. Et aliter dicit vivos justos, mortuos peccatores.' But he makes no reference to the third interpretation which the other expositor, after Rufinus, had distinctly adopted as his own." Dr. Heurtley adds: "On comparing the coincidences to which Waterland refers, they appear to me to be not so much coincidences of style as the incorporation into his text on the part of the later writer of almost the very words of the earlier. It is perfectly clear that the later was familiar with the work of the former; I had almost said, had had it before him when he wrote. The earlier has made a like use of Rufinus' commentary."

The authorship, then, of Venantius Fortunatus not being certain (though, as Dr. Heurtley says, notwithstanding these apparent discrepancies, the two Commentaries, it is far from impossible, may have proceeded

from the same writer at different periods of life) cannot be taken as determining the date of the commentary. Are there any other criteria to guide us to an approximate conclusion on the point? In addition to that in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, there are three known MSS. of this commentary. One is at Florence, and, if it is the same that was found there by Francis Anthony Zacharia, is of the fourteenth century. This, therefore, can afford no guidance. The second, an imperfect copy, is in the Imperial Library at Vienna, and is of the ninth century; it is in the same manuscript with a copy of the Athanasian Creed, already noticed.* The third and best known belongs to the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It is marked 'Junius 25.' In Waterland's time it was believed to have been written early in the tenth century;† but the present learned Librarian assigns it to the early part of the ninth.‡ Thus the commentary could not have been drawn up later than the beginning of the ninth century, and may have been written much earlier. Dr. Heurtley has given reasons—taken together, conclusive reasons—for believing it to have been written much earlier.§ First, had the commentary been written towards the end of the eighth century, or in the early part of the ninth, the doctrine of the double Procession,

* Denis, 'Codices Manuscripti Bibliothecæ Palatinæ Vindobonensis,' vol. i. pars. i. pp. 962–966. 1793. † 'Crit. Hist.' chap. iii.

‡ Professor Heurtley on the 'Athanasian Creed,' p. 10, note.

§ Ibid, pp. 10–18.

which was one of the principal topics of controversy during all that period, would in all probability have been dwelt upon in a marked and emphatic manner. It would have been defended, enlarged upon, pressed upon the reader's notice, whenever occasion offered. "Now it is impossible in reading Fortunatus' commentary not to be struck with the want of prominence given in it to this doctrine. It is stated indeed, as would hardly have been avoided in the context in which it occurs, but twice only, and that simply and incidentally, and without one word in the way of vindication or enlargement."* And what is especially remarkable, the three clauses of the Creed, stating the relations of the three Divine Persons, the last of them declaring the Holy Ghost to be of or from "the Father and the Son," which were repeatedly quoted in reference to this controversy, and particularly in the early part of the ninth century, by Theodulph and another, are completely passed over—not so much as quoted—although that they formed a part of the Creed at the time is unquestionable. The doctrine is said to have been discussed as early as A.D. 767 at the Council of Gentili or Gentiliacun in France. A similar argument may be founded upon the absence of all reference in the commentary to the other great subject of controversy during the same period; viz., Adoptionism. This controversy commenced A.D. 785, and was continued during the early

* Professor Heurtley on the 'Athanasian Creed,' p. 11.

part of the next century. We find Agobard writing upon the subject after the death of Felix, A.D. 818. "No work," says Dr. Heurtley, "touching upon the subject of the Incarnation, written between 785 and 825, could well have avoided reference to it. Yet in Fortunatus' commentary the reader will search in vain for any trace of those critical expressions—the repudiation of the doctrine that our Lord was in one respect not the proper, but only the adopted, nuncupative Son of God—which one might naturally expect to meet with in the writings of that age."* Had any proof been wanting that the commentary does not refer at all to Adoptionism, it would have been supplied by Mr. Ffoulkes' futile attempt to prove that it does. "It is not enough," he says, "for the Professor (Heurtley) that the Creed says, 'Perfectus Deus, perfectus homo.' Well! but in the commentary by Fortunatus, on which he lays so much stress, these words are literally paraphrased by '*verus* Deus et *verus* homo;' so that this very commentary supplies me with a new and decisive argument against not only the earlier existence of the Creed, but its own."† It is astonishing to find any one deliberately citing this expression in reference to the verity of our Lord's natures as proof that the work was not written before the ninth century. Similar language is used by St Hilary in the fourth century in opposition to the

* Professor Heurtley on the 'Athanasian Creed,' p. 13.

† Letter to 'The Guardian,' February 28th, 1872.

Arians: "Ita Jesus Christus . . . homo ac Deus esset, habens in se et totum *verumque* quod homo est, et totum *verumque* quod Deus est;"* and by St. Leo in the fifth in the Eutychian controversy: "Quum ergo unus sit Dominus Jesus Christus et *veræ* deitatis *veræque* humanitatis in ipso una prorsus eademque persona sit," etc.;† and: "In integra *veri* hominis perfectaque natura *verus* natus est Deus, totus in suis, totus in nostris;"‡ and: "Qui enim *verus* est Deus, idem *verus* est homo, et nullum est in hac unitate mendacium, dum in invicem sunt et humilitas hominis et altitudo deitatis."§ In fact much of the language used in reference to the early heresies concerning the Incarnation was applicable to Adoptionism; hence Alcuin quotes these three passages of St. Leo in his work against Felix. This, then, being the clearest reference to Adoptionism which Mr. Ffoulkes is able to find in the Commentary of Fortunatus so called, it is perfectly clear that it contains no specific reference to the subject. We thus arrive at the conclusion that it must have been written before the commencement of the controversies respecting Adoptionism and the Procession.

But Dr. Heurtley further draws attention to an express indication afforded by the Commentary itself, "not of the precise time" when it was written, "but

* 'De Trin.' lib. x. cap. 19.
† 'Epist. ad Leonem Augustum,' c. ii.
‡ 'Epist. ad Flavianum,' c. ii. § Ibid, c. iii.

of the limit on the later side within which it must have been written. Expounding the clause in verse 29, 'Homo ex substantia Matris in sæculo natus,' the commentator observes: 'Id est, *in isto sexto milliario in quo nunc sumus.*'" What is intended by this Sixth Millenary? The Fathers, especially St. Augustine, divided the whole period of the world's existence into six ages, corresponding with the six days of the Creation, and with the six ages of man's life; the first extending from the Creation to Noah, the second from Noah to Abraham, the third from Abraham to David, the fourth from David to the carrying away to Babylon, the fifth from the carrying away to Babylon to the first Advent, the sixth from the birth of Christ to the end of the world and of time. If by the sixth millenary of the Commentary the sixth age is meant, the expression of course affords no clue to the date when the Commentary was written, the sixth age being a period of indefinite and uncertain length. But there is nothing to justify such an interpretation beyond the fact that the latter is always represented, as the former here, as the period in which the Birth of our blessed Lord took place. The expression has not been shown to have been used in other instances in this sense; and being here used without any explanation or qualification, we are naturally led to understand it literally of the sixth space of a thousand years from the Creation. Indeed it must mean this, if it does not mean the sixth age. At what

period of the Christian era the writer would consider this sixth millenary as terminating, must have depended on the mode of computation which he followed. It is clear that he did not follow the Hebrew chronology, according to which the Birth of Christ took place in the year 3953 after the creation of Adam, and consequently before the commencement of the *fifth* millenary. Of the modes of computation based upon the Septuagint, the three best known and most widely received among Christians were, that of Julius Africanus, which was adopted by the Alexandrians, and called the era of Alexandria, and which placed the Birth of Christ in the year 5500 from the Creation; that adopted by the Greek Church, and called the era of Constantinople, which placed the Birth of Christ in the year 5509 from the Creation; and that of Eusebius, which is adopted generally by mediæval writers, and which placed the Birth of Christ in the year 5199 from the Creation. Any one of these systems may have been followed by St. Augustine, who, writing early in the fifth century, says that more than five thousand years had elapsed from the creation of man, but that six thousand were not completed; and also speaks of being at the time in the later part of the sixth milliary or millenary.* And by the sixth millenary—the same expression that occurs in the Commentary on the Athanasian Creed—he appears to mean the sixth period of a thousand years from the

* 'De Civitate Dei,' xii. 10, 12; xviii. 40; xx. 7.

Creation, not the sixth age. He describes the binding of Satan mentioned in the Apocalypse as taking place "sexto annorum milliario tanquam sexto die, cujus nunc spatia posteriora volvuntar." He would not have spoken of being, at the time when he wrote, in the latter portion — "spatia posteriora" — of the "sixth age," which to his mind was a period of indefinite length, its future duration being entirely hidden from man's knowledge, possibly comprising very many thousands of years. We cannot suppose that Fortunatus, or whoever the writer of the Commentary might have been, could have followed either the Alexandrian or the Constantinopolitan era; for in either case the Commentary must have been written before the sixth century, and so early a date would appear improbable. It appears therefore almost certain that he adopted the system of Eusebius, according to which the last year of the sixth millenary would coincide with the year 800 of the Christian era; and what makes it appear the more probable that he did so is, that the same computation was adopted by Orosius, who wrote his history, at the suggestion of St. Augustine, in the fifth century; by Bede at the beginning of the seventh; by an anonymous writer of the same century, whose treatise, 'De Computo,' appears in Muratori's Anecdota; and by Rhabanus early in the ninth.* Thus the year

* 'Rhabani Liber de Computo,' lxv.; 'Baluzii Miscellanea,' tom. ii. p. 76. Edit. 1761.

800 marks the conclusion of the period within which the Commentary was written; and the necessary inference from the writer's silence as to the near approach of the close of the period or millenary at the time when he wrote is, that at that time the millenary was not near its close. Hence we are led to believe that it was written before the eighth century. But how long before? Dr. Heurtley, while speaking doubtfully respecting the authorship of Venantius Fortunatus, does not hesitate to express his opinion that the Commentary contains no one sentence "which is inconsistent with the hypothesis that it was written, if not by Venantius Fortunatus, at all events in the age in which Venantius Fortunatus lived; that is, before the close of the sixth century, or early in the seventh." And this is indeed the period to which it may be assigned with the greatest probability, as may be shown by an argument similar to that by which Dr. Heurtley has proved that it was written before the commencement of the controversies respecting Adoptionism and the Procession. The Monothelete controversy was the prominent, almost absorbing, subject of interest and debate among theologians of the West, as well as the East, in the seventh century. Commencing about the year A.D. 630, it agitated the Church during the remainder of the century, and had not entirely subsided at the beginning of the following century. Had the Commentary been written during

the prevalence of this controversy, it could scarcely have failed to employ the peculiar terminology then in vogue, and to caution against the special error of the age. For some passages in the Creed, indeed almost every clause relating to the Incarnation, would naturally suggest, if not necessitate, the introduction of such terms and cautions. But they are not introduced; and their absence is all the more remarkable because the commentator's own remarks are such as would have led him to introduce them, had he lived during this controversy. For instance, his comment upon the clause, "Who although He be God and man: yet He is not two, but one Christ," is as follows: "Id est, duæ substantiæ in Christo, Deitas et humanitas, non duæ personæ, sed una," according to the Oxford MS. The Ambrosian or Milan adds, "est persona;" but clearly both readings give the same meaning. And this comment he refers to and repeats in his remarks on the next clause but one, "One altogether, not by," etc.* Is it possible to suppose that an orthodox theologian, as this commentator clearly was, writing in the middle or latter part of the seventh century, or even at the beginning of the eighth, would have made this distinct assertion of the two natures in Christ without going on to insist upon His two wills and two energies and operations as the necessary corollary? Or

* 'Waterland on the Athanasian Creed,' Appendix, p. 262. Oxford edit. 1870.

is it possible to suppose that he would have put forward the other assertion, which is indeed his direct and main assertion—that of the Unity of our Lord's Person—without at the same time guarding against the inference which a Monothelete opponent would have fastened upon him; viz., that in one Christ there can be but one will? On the other hand, had he been himself a Monothelete, it is equally improbable that he would have commented upon the Creed's repeated and explicit assertions of the Unity of our Lord's Person, and still more himself remarked upon them, without expressing his own peculiar tenet. The unavoidable conclusion from this absence of all the critical terms connected with Monotheletism, and indeed of any reference to the subject, is that the Commentary was written before the rise of that controversy—*i.e.* before the year 630—and very possibly it was written in the sixth century. Thus it bears internal evidence of being composed at, or within fifty years after, the date assigned by Waterland for its composition. His conclusion on this point is in substance correct, however uncertain the premisses on which he founded it. But here it is necessary to repeat the remark, truism though it be, that whenever this Commentary was written, the Creed must have been drawn up some time previously. It is simply impossible that in a day or a year, or even a few years after its composition, the Creed should have gained such a hold upon the esteem of Christians as to be deemed

the necessary and fitting subject for a Commentary. A period of some considerable duration must be allowed for this process.

There is another remark which suggests itself to my mind respecting this Commentary. Whatever be the date of its composition, at that time the Creed must have existed in its completeness, as we now have it. By far the greater part of the Creed is indeed actually quoted by it; the whole, in fact, of the latter portion, which relates to the Incarnation—*i.e.* from "Est ergo fides recta," down to the end—is so with the exception of the words "tertia die" and "omnipotentis." In the former portion the commentator omits to quote words or clauses here and there, but comparatively few; and with respect to these it must be observed, first, that he sometimes quotes only the commencing words or clause, or some part of a sentence, just so much, in fact, as was needful to his purpose, and no more. But the connection between the text that is quoted and the context that is not quoted is so intimate, that the one implies, and compels us to infer, the co-existence of the other. We have an instance of this in the third clause, where the commentator omits to quote the words "Fides autem Catholica hæc est;" but it is perfectly clear that he must have had these words before him from his quoting that which immediately follows, the remainder of the sentence, "ut unum Deum," etc. A still more notable instance occurs in the nineteenth and twentieth

clauses, the first of which is alone quoted, although both form one sentence. Our other observation upon this point is, that generally the portions which are not quoted are incorporated, either literally or in substance, in the text of the Commentary. This is the case particularly with the twenty-seventh clause. In sum, of the forty-two clauses of the Creed there are but thirteen not quoted at all; and the Commentary, so far from leading us to suppose that at the time when it was written these did not belong to the Creed, distinctly points to the opposite conclusion.

The exigencies of Mr. Ffoulkes' theory obviously required him to prove that this Commentary was written after the date assigned by him for the publication of the Creed; *i.e.* A.D. 802, and some time after. He has not so much as attempted to do this either from external or internal evidence. He conjectures that the author was a certain Fortunatus, who was Archbishop of Gradus, in Istria;* but his conjecture is not supported by a shadow of proof. He does not and cannot produce a single testimony that his supposed author composed this or indeed any other work. The only grounds for the conjecture appear to be that this Fortunatus flourished shortly after the time assigned by Mr. Ffoulkes for the composition and publication of the Creed, and that the Commentary in the Milan MS. is described as the work of *a* Fortunatus. And yet here Mr. Ffoulkes is betrayed

* 'Athanasian Creed: by whom written,' etc. p. 283.

into a gross inconsistency; for in the very page before that in which he broaches the conjecture in question he asserts that this MS., or the title which it applies to the Commentary, makes "Fortunatus the author of the Creed, not its commentator." If the Milan MS. is to be accepted in proof of *a* Fortunatus being the author, it must be accepted as proving *Venantius* Fortunatus to have been so. This conjecture, indeed, only increases Mr. Ffoulkes' difficulties; for what could be more improbable than that this elaborate Commentary should have been written within twenty-two years only after the Creed first saw the light? Such must have been the case, according to this hypothesis, the supposed author having died A.D. 824. In his last work, Mr. Ffoulkes says that the Commentary was written A.D. 816. This only makes the improbability still greater, if possible. On the other hand, assuming the truth of the conjecture, we have a fresh evidence of the exceeding improbability of Mr. Ffoulkes' theory in regard to the date of the Creed. Assuming that he is right in regard to the date both of the Creed and the Commentary, we have an additional proof of the excellence of the Creed in the fact of this comment being written upon it almost immediately after it became known to the world. And not only is there an entire absence of evidence to show that the Commentary was written by this Fortunatus, but from all that is known of his character he would appear a most unlikely person to have composed such a

work. He is called by Pagi, "vir inquieti animi."* He was one of Charlemagne's favourites and protégés, and a transaction in which he was concerned is the subject of a letter addressed by Pope Leo III. to the Frank Emperor, A.D. 806.† Fortunatus, being compelled to quit his own see during its occupation by the Greeks, who were then at war with the Western Emperor, had been placed by Charlemagne in possession of another see within his province, that of Pola. The Pope stipulates that the Archbishop of Gradus should alienate none of the property or goods of the Bishopric of Pola, but restore them all as soon as ever he should be able to recover possession of his own see; and then he goes on to express himself respecting the said Archbishop in a manner which does not convey a very exalted idea of his character. He solicits Charlemagne to interest himself in the spiritual concerns of the protégé (*i.e.* Fortunatus) whose temporal honour he laboured so sedulously to promote, and to compel him to attend better to his ministerial duties; for he (*i.e.* the Pope) had heard from different quarters, from France and from Fortunatus' own country, that he was not what an Archbishop ought to be. He begs the Emperor to make enquiry on the subject, and adds that Fortunatus ingratiated himself with the Emperor by suborning

* Crit. in 'Baronii Annales,' an. 824.

† 'Caroli Magni Opp.' pars. i. sec. 3; Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. xcviii. pp. 517–520.

and bribing persons to whisper his praises into the Imperial ear. This letter, which shows that Fortunatus was Archbishop A.D. 806, and even before that, appears to have escaped the notice of Mr. Ffoulkes, who talks of his not being a Bishop ten years later.*

Mr. Ffoulkes has entirely failed to answer Dr. Heurtley's arguments in regard to the date of this Commentary. His futile attempt to find expressions in it relating to Adoptionism has been already noticed. The argument drawn from the absence of any marked allusion to the Double Procession, and especially the omission to quote the portion of the Creed respecting that doctrine, he has not even attempted an answer. To the argument based on the expression "in isto sexto milliario in quo sumus" he finds two answers, and appears to be very sanguine that the one or the other will stand him in good stead.† First, he presumes that the Commentator reckoned the sixth Millenary as *commencing* with the six-thousandth year of the world! In what millenary, then, does he consider that the Commentator placed the year 800 or 900 from the Creation? According to this mode of computation we are mistaken in supposing that we live in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, and we ought to call the present century the eighteenth! But here, apparently, he does not himself feel very sure of his ground; for, "should this not be thought conclusive," he offers

* 'Athanasian Creed Reconsidered,' p. 44. † Ibid, p. 46.

another answer. "Freculph, the prince of mediæval chroniclers, . . . places the Incarnation 5129 years from Adam."* There must be some mistake in this computation attributed to Freculphus; for he describes himself as following the Chronology of Eusebius, who calculated, as we have already mentioned, 5199 years, or thereabouts, from the creation of Adam to the birth of Christ. Freculphus also reckons 4169 years from Adam to the building of Solomon's Temple,† and in another place, 1027 years from the building of the Temple to Christ, making together 5196 years from Adam to the birth of Christ.‡ Again, in the very passage where, if the text is correct, he calculates 5129 years from Adam to the birth of Christ, he also calculates 2921 years from the Deluge to the Nativity, leaving a period of 2208 years from Adam to the Deluge; but elsewhere he expressly adopts the calculation of Eusebius, according to which 2242 years elapsed between the creation of Adam and the Deluge. In the first printed edition of 1539, those numbers are given in Roman figures thus, "Ab Adam vero v milia cxxix.;" and it is the same in the Heidelberg edition of 1597. I venture to conjecture that through a mistake of the printer or of a former copyist cxxix. was wrongly substituted for cxcix. Such a change might

* 'Athanasian Creed Reconsidered,' p. 46.

† 'Chronicon,' lib. ii. cap. 21, Migne, 'Patrologia,' cvi.

‡ Ibid, lib. vii. 19.

easily occur. Freculphus is thus brought into harmony with Eusebius, whom he professes to follow, and with himself. In Migne's edition Arabic numerals have been here substituted for the Roman numerals of the earlier editions, and the error is thus perpetuated and concealed. Thus both of Mr. Ffoulkes' modes of meeting Dr. Heurtley's argument break down. But supposing that Freculphus did indeed compute 5129 years from Adam to Christ, which is more probable? That the writer of the Commentary adopted the chronology of a single obscure chronicler of the ninth century (for the idea that Freculphus was "the prince of mediæval chroniclers" is, I suspect, quite original)? or that he adopted that of Eusebius, which was followed by Jerome, Orosius, Bede, and Rabanus, and by mediæval writers generally, probably by St. Augustine? After what has been said it seems almost superfluous to remark upon the confusion in which Mr. Ffoulkes has involved himself by proposing these two answers. He must abandon one of them, for he cannot maintain both consistently. If he holds that the sixth millenary commenced with the six-thousandth year from the Creation, and that this is coincident with the year 870 of our era (as would be the case if our Lord was born in the year 5129 from the Creation), then he must cease to affirm that the Commentary was written by Fortunatus of Gradus, who died A.D. 824. But if he adheres to his conjecture as to the authorship of the

Commentary, and at the same time to the chronology with which he credits Freculphus, he can no longer assume that the sixth millenary commenced with the six-thousandth year of the world.

'Fortunatus' Commentary' has been made the subject of frequent reference and argument by Dr. Swainson. In his first publication he drew the conclusion that the Creed had "grown to its present form by a frequent series of accretions," from the fact that this Commentary omits to quote certain portions of it.* In particular he applied his principle to clauses 2, 28, 29 ("He therefore that will," etc.), and 21, 22, 23 ("The Father is made of none," etc.); and he argued that these were comparatively later additions, because not quoted in the Commentary. Clearly he proceeded upon the hypothesis that the quotations from the Creed in the Commentary may be taken as representing the entire text of the former at the time when the latter was composed; and this became all the more apparent when as an addendum to his 'Further Investigations,' dated by him November 30th, 1871, he printed these quotations as found in the earliest MS. of the Commentary, that in the Bodleian, as though they formed a distinct and complete document, and headed them "'*Fides Catholica*' as expounded in the manuscript 'Junius 25'!" The italics here are my own. Subsequently, first in a letter to 'The Guardian,'

* 'The Athanasian Creed and its usage in the English Church,' p. 70.

of March 20th, 1872, and afterwards in his 'Plea for Time,' etc.,* he has applied his principle to "the clauses of the Creed which bring out the Unus æternus, unus increatus, unus omnipotens," etc.; *i.e.* the 11th, 12th, 14th, 16th, and 18th; and he argued from the omission of the Commentary to quote these clauses, taken in connection with the fact of their being passed over by Hincmar in his controversy with Gothescalcus, that they formed no part of the Creed at the time of that controversy, which closed with the death of the latter, A.D. 869. In his first book he had stated that Hincmar recited the Creed "almost verbally" to his dying opponent from the 3rd clause "until the end of clause 27;" and he appears to have remained under this impression till the beginning of the year 1872, the truth being that on the occasion referred to Hincmar made no use whatever of any of the Creed between the 7th and the 24th clauses inclusive. To this must be attributed his not noticing earlier the omission of the Commentary to quote clauses 11, 12, 14, 16, and 18.

Dr. Swainson's argument appears to be as follows: Certain portions of the Creed are not quoted by Fortunatus' Commentary; but had they belonged to the Creed when the Commentary was written, they would have been quoted. Therefore, not being quoted, they did not belong to the Creed originally, but are subsequent additions. He goes even farther than this, assuming that

* Pages 45, 55.

the omission of any particular MS. of the Commentary to quote a certain clause proves that clause to have been absent from the Creed at the time when the MS. was written; but this it is unnecessary to dwell upon at present. It is in the second premiss clearly that the above argument fails. Its soundness has been questioned by Mr. Ffoulkes;* its unsoundness has been admitted by Dr. Swainson himself. "I know," he says in a letter to 'The Guardian' of May 22nd, 1872, "that it is said that the pretermission of it," *i.e.* clause 2, "in a Commentary does not prove its non-existence in the document commented upon. *Nor does it.*" The italics are mine. And in his last work, 'Plea for Delay,' etc., published in 1873: "We cannot absolutely argue as to the absence of a verse in the text, because it is passed over in the notes."† And yet, notwithstanding this admission, in the same work he has practically adhered to the argument. Dr. Swainson having thus professedly abandoned his own argument, it must be needless to attempt to refute it at length by showing to what absurd results and conclusions it would necessarily lead. I have done this on a former occasion,‡ and I have no wish to go twice over the same ground. But let me say thus much: The fallacy of this mode of reasoning will be apparent if it is applied to an analogous case, that

* 'Athanasian Creed,' p. 316, note. † Page 55.

‡ 'Athanasian Creed with special reference to the so-called Damnatory Clauses,' etc., pp. 29–33.

of the Holy Scriptures. Passages might be easily cited which ancient commentators, say St. Hilary or St. Chrysostom, have passed by unnoticed, although forming part of the books commented upon. It would be quite as reasonable to argue that such passages were not portions of the sacred text in the time of St. Hilary or St. Chrysostom, because thus unnoticed in their commentaries, as to conclude that certain clauses of the Athanasian Creed did not belong to it at the time when Fortunatus' Commentary was written because they are not quoted by this Commentary.

Thus the conclusion respecting the history and formation of the Creed which Dr. Swainson has deduced from his consideration of this Commentary, and on which indeed his whole theory mainly rests, is based upon a false and unsound premiss. The visionary fabric totters and falls for want of a sound foundation. And if the instances are examined to which he has applied his principle, it will be found that, so far from their establishing his theory, the reverse is the case. In point of fact, it may be shown that the very clauses of the Creed which, by reason of their being silently passed over by this Commentary, he asserts to have been absent from the Creed during his period of growth, were all at that very time part and parcel of it. This might be proved conclusively by appeal to MSS. of the whole Creed of earlier date than the ninth century—for instance, the Vienna Psalter, the San Germain's MS.,

and the Ambrosian or Milan; I will not add the Utrecht Psalter, its date being so much disputed, though many believe it to be much earlier than the ninth century, and of those palæographers who claim for it a later date, some of the most distinguished allow it possibly to be the product of the end of the eighth century. Such appeal, for the sake of argument, I waive for the present, and I am content to rest my case solely upon such grounds and authorities as Dr. Swainson and those who agree with him must admit—the reason of the case, the internal evidence of the Commentary, and the testimony of contemporary writers. First, with regard to the second clause, it is far from certain that this is not quoted by the Commentary, inasmuch as it is found in one of the four known MSS. of that document—that at Milan; so that this is scarcely an instance in point. But whether or not the Milan MS. is right in thus citing the clause, certain it is that it was quoted by Agobard as from Athanasius early in the ninth century, some time, it must be recollected, before the termination of Dr. Swainson's period of growth—a sufficient proof in itself that it must have belonged to the Creed not only at the beginning of the ninth century, but some considerable time before. And although Dr. Swainson, in his first publication, dwelt upon the omission of this clause by the Oxford MS. of the Commentary, as disproving its genuineness and antiquity, he has since in reality relinquished this position, first, by admitting, in his letter

to 'The Guardian' of March 20, 1872, that during his period of growth this clause, together with others, is "quoted from an *authoritative document* sometimes called the *Faith of Athanasius*;" and more recently, in his last book, by assuming as a type of the condition of the Creed during the same period a document—Vienna MS. 1261—in which it actually appears word for word.* At the same time, most inconsistently, in another part of the same book (p. 55), he remarks on its omission by the Oxford MS. as lending support to his theory. It has been urged that two more MSS. of the Commentary have been brought to light in which this clause does not appear. I can only repeat, with the fullest confidence in the soundness of my position, what I wrote when only one MS. was known from which it was absent: "Supposing that a dozen more MSS. of Fortunatus' comment were brought to light, and this clause were quoted in none of them, the omission would be really no evidence to disprove its antiquity or genuineness as really part of the Creed. Such evidence is not to the point.' Next, of clauses 21, 22, and 23—"The Father is made of none," etc.—in his first book Dr. Swainson maintained that these, being unnoticed in the Commentary, "may also have been inserted at a later epoch, probably before the end of the century in which Alcuin died;" *i.e.* the ninth. But when he wrote this he must have forgotten that these clauses were adopted by Denebert into his pro-

* 'Plea for Time,' etc. p. 39.

fession of faith at the end of the eighth century, and at the beginning of the ninth were quoted as the words of Athanasius by Theodulph and Alcuin, or the author of the treatise on the Procession assigned to him. In all the passage is cited in such a manner as to show convincingly that it was no recent addition to the Creed at the commencement of the ninth century. The last-mentioned writer describes it as written by Athanasius himself "in his exposition of the Catholic Faith." It should be added that in his last work Dr. Swainson appears no longer to insist upon these clauses being later insertions, nor did he so represent them in his letter to 'The Guardian' of March 20, 1872. In fact he was obliged to abandon this view of them when he adopted Denebert's Profession as one of the types of the Creed during his imaginary period of growth. It may be well to observe, that though these clauses are not quoted by the Commentary, their teaching is given in the previous part of it; and this may be the reason why the commentator did not think it necessary either to quote or to comment upon them. Again, Dr. Swainson came to the conclusion that the 28th and 29th clauses ("He, therefore, that will be saved," etc.) were of very late introduction—not introduced, in fact, till a considerable period after Alcuin's death, because the Commentary takes no note of them; and there is no reason to suppose that he has departed from this opinion materially, though he must have modified it to some

extent to meet the view enunciated by him in the most recent phase of his theory, that the Creed received its completion A.D. 870. The connection of these two clauses, which unite the former and latter portions of the Creed, with the text of the Creed as quoted in the Commentary is so close and intimate as to make it clear that they must have belonged to the Creed at the time when the Commentary was written, though not quoted by it. The text of the Creed as quoted is as follows: "Et in hac Trinitate nihil prius aut posterius, nihil majus aut minus. Est *ergo* fides recta, ut credamus et confiteamur, quia Dominus noster Jesus Christus, Dei filius, Deus pariter et homo est." It is simply impossible to suppose that this was really the text of the Creed at any time. There is a hiatus, clearly showing that something is wanting, and causing a manifest abruptness, and indeed inconsequence. The insertion of these two clauses, together with the rest of the omitted portion, obviously supplies the missing link, and completes the sense. Could we wish for a plainer proof? And this internal evidence (which would, however, be alone sufficient) is confirmed by external evidence. Theodulph, in the treatise already referred to, written A.D. 810, quotes a long passage of the Creed, from the 21st clause to *the 28th* ("He, therefore, that will," etc.) *inclusive*. And the 29th is so closely connected with the 28th that we may accept this as indirect proof of the presence of that also in the Creed. "Est

autem necessarium ad æternam salutem, ut Incarnationem *quoque* Domini nostri Jesu Christi fideliter credat." And the observation which I made upon Theodulph's testimony in regard to the 21st and two following clauses is equally true of his testimony in regard to these. It proves them to have belonged to the Creed not only at the beginning of the ninth century, but some time before. The quotation is given, not as from a recent work, but in the belief that it was the language of Athanasius. There is also some direct external evidence to the antiquity of the 29th clause. The fragment found at Treves, a copy of which is preserved in the Colbertine MS.—now Paris 3836—and which Dr. Swainson considers earlier than the Council of Chalcedon, commences abruptly with the closing words of this clause: "Domini nostri Jesu Christi fideliter credat."* There can be little or no doubt, therefore, that the document in its unmutilated state gave the whole of the clause. We come now to clauses 11, 12, 14, 16, and 18, on the omission of which Dr. Swainson places so much stress in his more recent publications. For the sake of clearness, I will give them *in extenso* with their context.

8. Increatus Pater, increatus Filius, increatus et Spiritus sanctus;

9. Immensus Pater, immensus Filius, immensus et Spiritus sanctus;

* See Appendix, Note K.

10. Æternus Pater, æternus Filius, æternus et Spiritus sanctus;

11. Et tamen non tres æterni, sed unus æternus,

12. Sicut non tres increati, nec tres immensi, sed unus increatus, et unus immensus.

13. Similiter, omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius, omnipotens et Spiritus sanctus;

14. Et tamen non tres omnipotentes, sed unus omnipotens.

15. Ita Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus et Spiritus sanctus;

16. Et tamen non tres Dii, sed unus est Deus.

17. Ita Dominus Pater, Dominus Filius, Dominus et Spiritus sanctus;

18. Et tamen non tres Domini, sed unus est Dominus.

19. Quia sicut singillatim unamquamque Personam et Deum et Dominum confiteri Christiana veritate compellimur;

20. Ita tres Deos aut Dominos dicere Catholica religione prohibemur.

Clauses 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, and 17 are quoted by the Commentary, and commented upon; 11, 12, 14, 16, and 18 are not noticed. In this Dr. Swainson finds evidence that the latter clauses were late insertions in the Creed. He holds that they were introduced by Hincmar in or about A.D. 870. On the other hand, I submit respectfully, but most confidently, that the connection between the former clauses and the latter is

such, that the mere fact of the quotation of the former by the Commentary as belonging to the Creed proves the latter also to have belonged to the Creed when the Commentary was written. The clauses passed over by the Commentary, it will be noticed, are not complete and independent sentences in themselves, but, in fact, form one sentence with the clauses immediately preceding which are quoted. In each case the relation is the same, and is marked by the conjunctions 'et tamen.' And a reference to the Commentary will show other instances where the first part of a sentence is alone quoted, there being no occasion to quote the remainder. Thus clause 19 is alone quoted, 20 being passed over, and the two forming one sentence. Would any one deduce from this, that the latter clause was not in the Creed when the Commentary was written? The very opposite plainly is the true inference. Thus, of clauses 25 and 26, which clearly form one sentence, the first ("And in this Trinity," etc.) is alone quoted. Further, a reference to the Commentary will make it plain that the commentator passed over 11, 12, 14, 16, and 18, for the simple reason that he had no remark to make upon them, all which he could have said in regard to them being contained in his comments on the preceding and corresponding clauses. Thus, in the comments upon 8, 9, 10, he had already explained the only words which required explanation in 11 and 12—'increatus,' 'immensus,' and 'æternus.' In like manner,

under 13, he had explained the word 'omnipotens,' so that he had nothing further to remark upon 14, and there was no occasion to cite it. A similar observation might be made in regard to the treatment of the two remaining corresponding couplets, 15 and 16, 17 and 18. Yet further and especially it is necessary to notice the connection of sense between the former series of clauses—those quoted by the Commentary—and the latter series, those not quoted. The former are reiterated assertions of the Divinity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, severally, successively claiming for each of the three Persons the properties of uncreation, of immensity, of eternity, of omnipotence, the titles of God and Lord; the latter are co-ordinate and counterbalancing assertions of the Unity of the divine substance, clearly being intended to guard against the misunderstanding, in a Tritheistic sense, of the respective clauses immediately preceding. It is simply impossible to suppose that the former could ever have existed in the Creed without being accompanied and guarded by the latter. Had the former stood alone, the due proportions of the faith respecting the Trinity in Unity and the Unity in Trinity, which the Fathers were so careful to maintain, would have been violated. It had been the characteristic of Catholic teaching from the first, to assert the Unity of the Divine substance simultaneously with the distinction of the Divine Persons; and this characteristic is fully and articulately

delineated in these successive combinations of clauses, re-echoing as they do, in varied but harmonious applications, the one as well the other doctrine. The very language indeed of these several couplets of clauses, but more particularly of 13 and 14, and of 17 and 18, had been familiar as household words among Catholics ever since the time of St. Augustine, when under the inspiration of that great master theology was impressed with a character of greater definiteness.* So great is the resemblance between the language of the Creed and that of St. Augustine, that it is an open question whether the Father followed the lines of the Creed, or whether the Creed borrowed its terminology from the Father. Is it possible to believe that in the eighth and ninth centuries, indeed at any period, an Exposition of the Catholic Faith declared with St. Augustine that "the Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty, and the Holy Ghost Almighty," but did not go on to declare with him that "yet there are not three Almighties, but One Almighty;" declared with St. Augustine that "the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God," but did not go on to declare with him that "yet there are not three Gods, but One God," thus presenting a partial and imperfect statement of the Catholic Faith, and offending against Catholic usage? The structure of the Creed moreover forbids the hypothesis that the clauses asserting the divine personality of the Father,

* Appendix, Note M.

Son, and Holy Ghost could ever had a place in it without the others which assert the Unity of the divine substance being annexed to them as they now are; for the former apart from the latter would present a glaring inconsistency, both with what precedes, the third and fourth clauses striking the key-note that the Catholic Faith requires us neither to confound the Persons, *nor to divide the substance*, and with what immediately follows in 19 and 20: "For (quia) like as we are compelled by the Christian verity to acknowledge every Person by Himself to be God and Lord, *so are we forbidden by the Catholic religion to say there be three Gods, or three Lords.*" That clauses 3 and 4 were in the Creed during his period of growth Dr. Swainson admits; that 19 and 20 were so he also admits by allowing that the first of them is quoted by the Commentary, the connection between 19 and 20 being so intimate and obvious that the presence of the one in the Creed implies that of the other; but with respect to these two clauses he does not always express himself consistently. Lastly, the Commentary itself contains an allusion to clauses 16 and 18, which Dr. Swainson has not noticed. "Et in his tribus Personis, non tres Deos nec tres Dominos, sed in his tribus, *sicut jam supra dictum est*" (or according to the Oxford MS., "supra dixi") unum Deum et unum Dominum confiteor."* This occurs in the comment on clause 19.

* 'Waterland on the Athan. Creed,' Appendix, p. 257. Oxford edition, 1870.

As he had nowhere before said this in the Commentary, the statements of the Creed in 16 and 18 must be what the commentator alludes to. I need not again refer to the indirect testimony of Hincmar to all the clauses from 8 to 18 inclusive, having already done so.

Indeed I am at a loss to understand how Dr. Swainson is able to harmonize the evidence furnished by this Commentary, in regard to the history of the Creed, with his theory. Nowhere, as far as I am aware, has he stated when in his opinion the Commentary was written; but his argument proceeds upon the assumption that it was extant during his period of the Creed's growth, from 750 to 870—not necessarily during the whole of that period, but at any rate during some considerable portion of it. Otherwise it would have been altogether irrelevant for him to adduce the omission of the Commentary to quote certain clauses of the Creed as evidence that they were not introduced into the Creed till the end of that period. At the time of writing his first book (published in 1870) he certainly regarded the Commentary as written *before* the time of Alcuin, who flourished at the end of the eighth century; and if so, it could not have been written much after 750, the beginning of his period of growth, and may have been written before.* He may have modified this opinion since; still I repeat his argument in its latest form is based upon the hypothesis

* 'The Athanasian Creed and its Usage,' etc. p. 70.

that the Commentary was extant some time before 870, in which year he holds that "the finishing move was made" in completing the Creed. But how can he reconcile his theory as last enunciated with this hypothesis?* If this be true, how can it be also true that until that year the two great divisions of the Creed, relating respectively to the Trinity and Incarnation, were unconnected? For the Commentary has the whole of the Creed for its subject, and deals with the two portions as forming together one whole. In this case, how can it be true that the latter portion grew out of the fragment found at Treves, which is preserved in the Colbertine MS., not being completed till the before-mentioned year, when Hincmar gave to it its present form and wording, and in particular perpetrated the crime of substituting the present final clause for the concluding clause of the Treves document? For the Commentary quotes the whole of this portion of the Creed according to the usual text which we have at present, barring a few trifling variations of reading, which have been mentioned; and in particular it quotes, as belonging to the text, the present concluding clause. But the Treves document, as we have already noticed, presents wide and numerous discrepancies from the Creed according to the received text; not mere variations of reading, but significant differences both of addition and omission. Granted that the Commentary

* 'Plea for Time,' etc. pp. 36, 42–47.

was extant during Dr. Swainson's period of growth, it follows necessarily that the two portions of the Creed were at that time united together in one whole, and that the latter portion was not then represented by the Treves fragment, but was precisely the same as it is now; and in particular this must have been the case in regard to the last clause. But these conclusions, though derived from Dr. Swainson's own premiss, are fatal to his theory. If, however, under the pressure of these difficulties he should postpone the date of the Commentary till after 870, he must then cease to argue from it in support of his theory, and thus abandon the ground on which originally in a large degree, indeed mainly, it was based.

To recapitulate the proof derived from this Commentary of the untenableness of Dr. Swainson's theory. It has been shown from internal evidence to have been written long before the commencement of the period when, according to Dr. Swainson, the Creed began to grow into its present form and dimensions; viz., at the end of the sixth century or the beginning of the seventh. But there can be no reasonable doubt of the existence of the Creed in its completeness at the time when the Commentary was written. For the Commentary actually quotes by far the larger portion of the Creed—in fact all but thirteen clauses; and most of these are so intimately connected with the clauses that are quoted as to make it clear that they must have

belonged to the Creed at the same time. And with regard to the few that remain, the omission of the Commentary to quote them may be accounted for by the fact of their being embodied in its text either literally or in substance. But without assuming more with regard to the date of the Commentary than Dr. Swainson tacitly admits; viz., that it was extant during his period of the Creed's growth, we find in it an incontrovertible proof of the unsoundness of his theory. In regard to eleven out of the thirteen clauses which are not actually quoted by the Commentary, I have already shown that they must have belonged to the Creed at the before-mentioned period—*i.e.* at the very time when Dr. Swainson denies that they belonged to it; and I have shown this from premisses which he cannot contest, either from their close connection with the clauses that are quoted, or from their being quoted in contemporary documents and writers, or from both these grounds. The same may be shown with regard to the two remaining clauses, the 26th and 27th: "But the whole three Persons," etc. These not only have an intimate relation with the context that is quoted in the Commentary, but they form part of the long passage which is quoted by Theodulph at the commencement of the ninth century, and appear in Denebert's profession at the end of the eighth.

I have dwelt at some length on this part of the subject, because it seemed important to give detailed

proof that this Commentary, which Dr. Swainson has relied upon so much for establishing his theory, is really fatal to it. If I have failed to make this clear, it is not, I am sure, owing to any deficiency in the proof, but to the feebleness of its exponent.

But I cannot proceed without noticing the disparaging tone adopted by Dr. Swainson in regard to one who has hitherto occupied a high position among the divines of the Church of England in the estimation of her members, and whose work on the Athanasian Creed, notwithstanding its imperfections, (and what book is free from imperfections?) possesses an abiding value as the chief storehouse of information on the subject. His vilification of Waterland culminates in the following sentence: "I must not forget to notice that, according to Waterland, this 'Venantius Fortunatus,' who died about 570, quoted passages from Alcuin, who lived about 800."* When Dr. Swainson penned this untrue and unjust criticism upon Waterland, he was betrayed by a righteous nemesis into a gross error. Venantius Fortunatus "died about 570!" The date was clearly derived from the despised Waterland, who in this case certainly proved misleading to Dr. Swainson. It is the date assigned by that "scholar of the 18th century" to Fortunatus' composition of the commentary on the Creed. Venantius Fortunatus does not appear to have become Bishop of Poictiers till after A.D. 594, when Gregory of Tours died, and he was

* 'Plea for Time,' etc. p. 57.

alive in the year 600. Waterland knew better than to say that he died about 570. As to the criticism itself, from its untruth and injustice it necessarily fails to touch the reputation against which it is aimed. It is damaging to none but its author. Let me not be understood as imputing to Dr. Swainson the slightest intention to misrepresent Waterland. But an accurate thinker and logical reasoner would not have made the assertion that, according to Waterland, Venantius Fortunatus quotes Alcuin; for Fortunatus' Commentary does not *quote* Alcuin, nor does any MS. of the Commentary. The Milan MS., which is allowed to have been written long after Alcuin's death, contains two interpolated passages from his writings; but they are not found in the earlier Oxford MS. This circumstance (for it must be to this that he alludes) Dr. Swainson apparently deems sufficient proof that the Commentary could not have been written in the sixth century, and consequently that Waterland committed an obvious absurdity and anachronism in assigning it to a writer of that century. At least, I am at a loss to divine what else but this can be his meaning. Most minds, however, will fail to trace the connection between the composition of the Commentary and the insertion of these passages from Alcuin in a manuscript of the Commentary. Waterland is so far from representing Venantius Fortunatus as quoting Alcuin, that in his edition of the Commentary which is found in the appendix to his

treatise on the Athanasian Creed, he has carefully noted that these passages were not in the original text, nor yet in the Oxford MS., but only in the Milan copy; that they are interpolations from Alcuin, who borrowed them almost entirely from Fulgentius. Much, by the way, has been said respecting these interpolations, as though they must have been made with some intention to deceive; but clearly there is not the slightest necessity or occasion for attributing them to such a cause. Some good monk, in copying out the Commentary, may have inserted the passages with the simple view of rendering his copy a more complete manual for the use of his community.

In connection with this Commentary I am induced to give another specimen of Dr. Swainson's accuracy. It has been already remarked that in his 'Further Investigations' he printed a text of the Creed as quoted in the Commentary, according the Oxford MS. marked "Junius 25" under the notable heading, "'Fides Catholica' as expounded in the manuscript 'Junius 25.'" But in this text he included two passages which "Junius 25" does not represent as part of the "Catholic Faith" or Creed, as subsequent reflection appears to have convinced him; for in his last publication he has again "printed the Creed as it is noted in Junius,"* and it is observable that on this occasion he has omitted entirely the first of the two passages, and placed the second

* 'Plea for Time,' etc. p. 55.

within brackets. It is curious to trace the source from which these passages have been drawn, and the process employed in their construction. The first is as follows: "Pater est ingenitus; Filius a Patre solo est genitus; Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio est procedens." This sentence will in vain be sought for in the Comment; but it has been formed by putting together words of the Commentary gathered from three different sentences, as will appear by comparing it with the following passage of the Commentary: "*Alia est enim Persona Patris.* Quia Pater ingenitus est, eo quod a nullo est genitus. *Alia Persona Filii,* quia Filius a Patre est solo genitus. *Alia Spiritus Sancti,* quia a Patre et Filio Spiritus Sanctus procedens est." The quotations from the Creed are printed in italics. The text is that of the Oxford MS., or "Junius 25," as given by Waterland from a transcript of that manuscript.* Thus Dr. Swainson has collected together words from three different sentences of the Commentary, and represented them so put together as part of the "'Fides Catholica' as expounded in the manuscript 'Junius 25.'" The other passage (and this, let me repeat for clearness, is also printed by Dr. Swainson as part of the "'Fides Catholica' as expounded in the manuscript 'Junius 25,'" and subsequently, but within brackets, as part of "the Creed as it is noted in Junius") is as follows: "Ita in his tribus Personis non tres Deos nec tres Dominos sed unum

* 'History of the Athanasian Creed,' p. 255. Oxford edition, 1870.

Deum et unum Dominum confitemur." In his last publication he altered "confitemur" to "confiteor," an approach to accuracy. Let this be compared with the following passage of the Commentary as read in "Junius 25," according to Waterland: "Et in his tribus Personis non tres Deos nec tres Dominos, sed his tribus, sicut jam supra dixi, unum Deum et unum Dominum confiteor." * In this case, it will be observed, the same process of selection has been pursued as in the former one; but the words have been selected from one sentence of the Commentary instead of three, and a word has been inserted which has no place in the Commentary—a short but important word; viz., "ita"—the object of such insertion clearly being to dovetail the passage with clause 19 of the Creed ("Quia sicut singillatim," etc.), which is quoted by the Commentary, whereas clause 20 ("ita tres Deos," etc.) is not quoted at all. Thus Dr. Swainson has described as belonging to the *Creed* two passages which have been constructed by the arbitrary selection and collocation of words found in the *Commentary*, a word, moreover, which has no place in the Commentary, nor yet appears in it in any quotation from the Creed, being prefixed to one of these passages with the apparent object of making it fit in with the context of the Creed. Again—but this is a matter of comparatively minor importance—according to him, the words "tertia die resurrexit a mortuis" are found in

* 'History of the Athanasian Creed,' p. 257. Oxford edition, 1870.

"Junius 25" or the Oxford MS. of the Commentary; but "surrexit a mortuis" is the reading of that MS. according to Waterland, "tertia die" being omitted, and in this the latter is confirmed by Dr. Heurtley. *

I have previously drawn attention to Dr. Swainson's mistake in regard to the date of Charles the Bald's Prayer Book—a point on which it might have been expected he would have been peculiarly careful to avoid error, as that date occupies such an important position in his theory.

Dr. Swainson, with the view of inducing the Church of England to remodel for the use of her members one of her ancient Creeds, or rather one of the ancient Creeds of the Catholic Church, has promulgated certain novel views respecting the history and formation of that document, which his researches into antiquity have led him to adopt. The few specimens I have adduced may assist persons in forming an opinion whether or no he possesses those habits of rigid critical accuracy without which researches of such a nature must be simply worthless in their results.

32. The Ballerini produce another testimony to the antiquity of the Athanasian Creed. In a collection of Canons contained in two very ancient manuscripts, Barb. 2888, and Vat. 1342, an Epistola Canonica is found which according to these learned men was extant at the beginning of the sixth century, and which

* 'Athanasian Creed: Reasons,' etc. pp. 23, 24.

has for its first Canon the following: "Primum omnium Fidem Catholicam omnes presbyteri et diaconi seu subdiaconi memoriter teneant; et si quis hoc faciendum prætermittat, quadraginta diebus a vino abstineat," etc.* That this refers to the Athanasian Creed there can be no doubt. Wherever "Fides Catholica" is used of a profession of faith, the presumption is that the "Quicunque vult" is meant, unless the context or some qualifying expression points to something else. Had the Apostles' Creed been intended, we should have had "Symbolum," or "Symbolum Apostolorum," or the like. The latter, too, was enjoined by Canon to be learnt by all the faithful, not the clergy only. There is no example, I venture to think, of a Canon requiring the clergy to learn the Apostles' Creed merely. If this Canon is rightly assigned to the sixth century (and the opinion of such learned canonists as the Ballerini is at least entitled to consideration), the fact of the Creed being then required to be learnt by the clergy, alone proves that it must have been composed and received in the Church some time before. Waterland takes no notice of this Canon, nor does he appear to have been aware of its existence; in fact, his work preceded by some forty years this treatise of the Ballerini. It may not be out of place to add that the Ballerini consider "Fides Catholica" to be the most ancient title of the Creed.

* 'Editorum Observationes in Dissertationem, ii., P. Quesnelli,' iii. 2, in Galland's 'Sylloge Dissertationum.'

The name of Athanasius, in their opinion, was not added till later.

33. In a sermon, "De Symboli Fide et bonis speribus," placed in the appendix to the fifth volume of St. Augustine's works, we have first in the commencement an apparent adoption of the opening words of the Creed, "Rogo et admoneo vos, Fratres Carissimi, ut Quicunque vult salvus esse Fidem rectam et Catholicam discat, firmiter teneat inviolatamque conservet." And after a few words of exhortation to belief in the three Divine Persons, the preacher continues: "Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus et Spiritus Sanctus, sed tamen non tres Dii, sed unus Deus. Qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis et Spiritus Sanctus. Attamen credat unus quisque fidelis, quod Filius æqualis est Patri secundum Divinitatem, et minor est Patri secundum humanitatem carnis, quam assumpsit." It is impossible to help suspecting that the author of this sermon must have been familiar with the Creed, making use as he does not only of the language employed in its introductory clauses, but of that also applied by it to the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation. In the opinion of the Benedictine editors of St. Augustine and Oudin, the author was Cæsarius, Bishop of Arles from A.D. 502 to A.D. 542. "Cæsarium sapit, non Augustinum," say the former. It must be admitted, however, that the evidence for the date and authorship of this sermon is not sufficiently clear to justify us in regarding it as more than a probable

testimony of the existence of the Creed in the sixth century.

34. Le Quien adduces some passages from another writer of the same period, Avitus Viennensis, who died A.D. 523, as evidence that he was well acquainted with the Creed, and that it was received in the Church before the time when he wrote. They are from a work on the Divinity of the Holy Spirit written against Guidobadus, the Arian king: "De Divinitate Spiritus Sancti quem nec factum legimus nec genitum nec creatum; Deus est, Deus qui operatur omnia in omnibus." Then, after citing several passages of the New Testament, Avitus continues: "Nos vero Spiritum Sanctum dicimus a Filio et Patre procedere;" and further on, "sicut est proprium Spiritui Sancto a Patre Filioque procedere, istud Catholica Fides, etsi renuentibus non persuaserit, in suæ tamen disciplinæ regula non excedit."* The language certainly appears to point to some formulated rule or profession of faith; and if so, what can be meant but the Athanasian Creed, the Filioque not having been introduced into the Creed of Constantinople, so far as we know, till towards the end of the sixth century? Be this as it may, the passages certainly prove the perfect accordance of the "Quicunque vult" in regard to its teaching on the Holy Spirit and the Procession with Western theology about the year 500.

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. lix. pp. 385, 386; also Waterland on 'Athanasian Creed,' p. 159, edition 1870.

It is obviously a mistake to regard this teaching as evidence that the Creed could not have originated in the fifth century, or even earlier—a mistake which is indeed inconceivable in the face of the abundant and clear testimony to the double Procession borne by a teacher of far higher authority than Avitus; viz., the great Doctor of the West, St. Augustine.

CONCLUSION.

THE theories of Mr. Ffoulkes and Dr. Swainson both collapse for want of proof.

The former has failed to produce a tittle of real evidence in support of his improbable hypothesis that the Athanasian Creed was a forgery of Charlemagne, published by that monarch, and imposed upon the clergy of his dominions as the work of Athanasius, though all the while he knew it to be the composition of Paulinus, Archbishop of Aquileia. This point, I venture to think, has been made good in the second chapter.

The latter has equally failed to produce a tittle of real evidence in support of his perfectly novel hypothesis that the Athanasian Creed was the work of the eighth and ninth centuries, formed by a gradual process of accretion, and completed A.D. 870, or very shortly after. This point also, I venture to think, has been substantiated in the third chapter in detail.

In particular there is no historical evidence to justify

the idea (which at one time was put forth by some, and hailed with delight by others, as affording the basis of an easy solution of our difficulties respecting the Creed) that the condemnatory clauses were comparatively late additions; none to show that at any period or place the portions of the Creed containing the credenda have been recited apart from these assertions of the necessity to salvation of belief in such credenda.

If it could be proved that the Athanasian Creed had been brought to perfection by a gradual process of growth, such a circumstance could not invalidate the authority of the Creed, nor derogate from the estimation in which it has been held hitherto. In regard to the two other Creeds, we know that neither of them were matured, so to speak, at once; and we do not esteem them the less on that account. It may have been the same with regard to the Quicunque vult; but this is a point concerning which, being entirely ignorant, we can affirm simply nothing. Thus much only is certain, that there is no proof of any such process in the eighth and ninth centuries. On the contrary, all the evidence serves to show that the Creed was extant even before the earlier of these two centuries precisely in the form in which it is now received and used, barring a few mere verbal variations; so that if such a process of growth took place at all in the case of this Creed, it must have been completed certainly before the eighth, probably before the sixth, century; *i.e.*

before the time when either of the other Creeds had become fixed in their present form and dimensions.

The failure of these attempts to put back the date of the Creed to the ninth century must itself serve to establish on a more sure footing the old and general belief in its much earlier origin. And this belief is still further confirmed by a renewed examination of the various testimonies to its antiquity. We have seen that at the very commencement of the ninth century it was generally regarded as an ancient document, quoted and appealed to in controversies as such, indeed as the work of Athanasius, and was widely received; that at the conclusion of the eighth century its language was adopted by an English Bishop in his profession of faith made at his consecration, and that in a manner which recognised it as an ancient and received document; that at the latter part of the same century it was recited in the offices of the Church, a fact proved by the Vienna Psalter; that the San German's MS. of the entire Creed is assigned by the high authority of Montfaucon to the middle of the same century; that in the Colbertine MS., assigned by modern palæographers to the early part of the same century, we have a fragment of a document which cannot be of later date than the seventh century, and which from internal evidence has been placed by learned men in the beginning of the sixth or the end of the fifth century, this document in its entirety having been evidently an

address or sermon founded upon the Athanasian Creed, and therefore implying its pre-existence. We have seen further that the Ambrosian MS. of the Creed is deemed to belong to the eighth century by Montfaucon, and is considered by Muratori even more ancient; that the Creed was canonically enjoined to be learnt by the clergy in the seventh century, as shown by the Autun Canon, and in the sixth too, if the Ballerini are right in regard to the date of the Canon cited by them; and lastly that early in the seventh century, or in the sixth, it was made the subject of an elaborate Commentary. Is it possible to consider these testimonies to the antiquity of this Symbol without accepting with renewed confidence the very safe and moderate conclusion of Tillemont, that it is ancient, and of the sixth century at the latest? In the above recapitulation I have omitted all mention of the Utrecht Psalter, because its date is so much disputed among palæographers of the present day; and of the MS. of the Creed in the additions to Vat. Palat. 574, because its date might be questioned as resting solely on the authority of the Ballerini. At the same time it is impossible to help attaching some weight to both these documents as evidences of the Creed's antiquity, especially bearing in mind the high antiquity confidently claimed for the former by some very competent experts. I have also, preferring to be on the safe side, omitted to press the quotations from Cæsarius and Avitus, because in the

former case the authorship, though asserted by great authorities, is not certain; and in the latter the reference, though probable, is open to question.

Some persons might have expected more abundant documentary evidence of the Creed's existence prior to the ninth century. But, taking into account the vast loss and destruction of manuscripts which have occurred from that age downwards, the wonder is rather that it should be so abundant as it is. In reference to this subject Dr. Maitland, a competent authority, has a remarkable passage in his work on the Dark Ages (p. 276): "If the reader has fairly considered the probable effects of war and fire, aided by the more slow and silent but incipient operation of Time, assisted by damp, and the auxiliaries which he has employed when the negligence of man has left manuscripts at his mercy; if he has reflected that more than 600 years have elapsed since the close of that period of which we are now speaking, during all which time the work of destruction has been going on; if he has at all realised these facts, surely I might confidently appeal to him whether it is very far short of a miracle that any manuscripts of that or of any earlier period should have survived to the present time?" Another competent authority on the same subject says, that "of ten thousand MSS.," viz., of the Athanasian Creed, "which were once in circulation, not one in a hundred now survives."* In illustration

* Sir T. D. Hardy's 'Further Report on the Utrecht Psalter,' p. 49.

of the circumstance in question, it may be sufficient to mention, that of the immense number of copies of the Holy Scriptures which must have been current in the fourth century not more than two are known to be now in existence. Hence it would clearly be absurd to assume that the copies of the Athanasian Creed which we now have of earlier date than the ninth century are all that ever existed. On the contrary, there can be no reasonable doubt that these are but a few saved from the general wreck. So, too, if all the ancient copies of the Creed, and all the ancient documents relating to it, had been preserved, we should doubtless find that the Vienna Psalter is not the only Psalter prior to the ninth century containing the Quicunque in its Appendix, but one of many such; and that the Autun Canon and that cited by the Ballerini are but specimens of similar Canons or episcopal injunctions prior to the same century requiring the Quicunque to be learnt by the clergy. To the same cause it is attributable that existing MSS. cannot be adduced in proof of the date of any particular work, except as determining the latest period at which it could have been written. We do not conclude from the fact of our possessing no MSS. of the Holy Scriptures earlier than the fourth century, that the Scriptures were not written till then; nor from the fact of our possessing no copy of Virgil earlier than the same century, that the poems of Virgil were a forgery of that age. In the same way, we cannot conclude from the

fact of no existing MS. of the Athanasian Creed in its entirety being older than the end of the seventh century, that the Creed was not composed long before that period. And even if it were true, as Mr. Ffoulkes and Dr. Swainson assert, in opposition to the judgments of men of the greatest learning, that none of the existing copies of the Creed were written before the ninth century, that would not be the slightest proof that the Creed was not drawn up before, indeed long before, the same century. "The non-existence," says Sir T. Hardy, "of early copies of the Athanasian Creed is no proof that none ever existed." * In the recent controversy a disposition manifested itself in some quarters to attach an undue value and importance to mere MS. testimony. These antiquarian researches are very interesting, but we must not expect too much from them; and to make the fate of the Creed dependent upon their result is to rest the whole matter upon a false issue. There is reason to believe that at this day MSS. of the Creed are in existence, possibly some of early date, of which no account or notice has hitherto been taken, and concerning which we are wholly in the dark as to when they were written, or what readings they contain, and the like. Even within the limited sphere of my own researches I have stumbled upon the mention of several MSS. of which nothing is known beyond the fact of their existence in the last century.† Probably they are in existence still. Further research,

* 'Further Report on the Utrecht Psalter,' p. 49. † Appendix, Note N.

therefore, may add somewhat to our knowledge of the Creed's history. That it will do so in any material degree is more than we can reasonably expect. The earliest copies have in all probability perished.

Thus, having regard to external testimony alone, we are led to believe the Creed to be of the sixth century at the latest. But no conclusion as to the date can be arrived at without taking into consideration also the internal evidence supplied by the contents and phraseology of the Creed. Does this suggest a still higher date than the sixth century? On this point we have for our guidance the very able and interesting argument of Waterland, showing convincingly (so far as the nature of the argument will admit), first from the absence in the Creed of any of those precise and critical terms which Catholics made use of in reference to the two natures after the time of Eutyches, as well as from its employment of an illustration in reference to the Unity of our Lord's Person, which was frequently in the lips of Catholics before the rise of Eutychianism, but was carefully avoided afterwards on account of its abuse by the followers of that heresy, that it was drawn up before the Council of Chalcedon; and then in like manner, from its omitting to make use of the peculiar terminology which the earlier heresy of Nestorianism provoked, that its origin must be carried up still higher, before the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. But when Waterland tries to determine the date within ten years,

and to prove that the Creed could not have been composed before A.D. 420, his reasoning is not equally convincing, as Mr. Harvey has shown. The mere internal evidence of the theology of the Creed can scarcely be relied on for fixing the date with such exactness. It may therefore have been composed earlier. Quesnel argues from the silence of Leo the Great respecting the Creed, and his omission to quote it, that it could not have been extant in his time;* but this is not a conclusive argument, especially if it is true, as Waterland maintains, that the Creed contains nothing directly and critically condemnatory of Eutychianism, and if at the time it had not yet, as doubtless it had not, come to be regarded as the work of St. Athanasius.

The authorship of the Creed is a matter of complete uncertainty; and it is best to realize and acknowledge our ignorance upon the subject. It has been assigned to various, indeed numerous, persons, but in no single instance upon sufficient evidence. Waterland in his anxiety to find an author for the Creed who was a person of weight and position and repute, and who flourished at the particular period which he had fixed upon as the date of its composition, attributes the authorship to St. Hilary of Arles; and his opinion has been commonly accepted by us in England without question. But his reasons for this conclusion are, it must be admitted, far from convincing. With one

* 'Quesnelli Dissertatio,' ii. 12, in Galland's 'Sylloge.'

exception they are of a general nature—that Hilary was a Bishop in Gaul about the time when the Creed was probably drawn up; that he was a man of ability; that he was an admirer and follower of St. Augustine, whose mind and phraseology are so clearly traceable in the Creed; that his style of writing was such as we should expect to find in the author of the Quicunque, although there are but two works of his remaining from which we can form a notion of his style, and those neither of them dogmatic works; viz., a very short epistle to Eucherius, and the life of Honoratus, his predecessor in the Bishopric of Arles. These reasons are too general to prove anything. The only specific ground alleged by Waterland in support of his view is that Honoratus, the biographer of Hilary, mentions among the works composed by him a 'Symboli Expositio Ambienda.'* By this Waterland supposes the Athanasian Creed to be meant, his reasons being, first that it may be more fitly called an exposition of the Creed than a *Symbolum* or Creed; and then that among the ancient titles applied to it "we find sometimes the title of *Expositio Catholicæ Fidei*, or yet nearer, *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum*, an Exposition of the Apostles' Creed, which is as proper a title as any, and not unlike to this of Honoratus." In proof of this he refers to the tables of the titles he had previously given.

* 'Critical History of the Athanasian Creed,' chap. viii. pp. 163, 164. Oxford edition, 1870.

On turning to these tables I find that the Athanasian Creed is designated thirty times as 'Fides' in the titles 'Fides Catholica,' or 'Fides Catholica Sancti Athanasii,' or the like; fourteen times as 'Symbolum' in such titles as 'Athanasii Symbolum,' or 'Athanasii Symbolum Fidei;' that thrice only is it called 'Expositio Fidei,' the titles being 'Expositio Catholicæ Fidei Athanasii,' 'ἔκθεσις τῆς πίστεως' and 'Athanasii Expositio Fidei;' and *once only* is it described as 'Expositio Symboli.' Thus, if these tables are any guide, the Athanasian Creed may be far more fitly called a 'Symbolum' than either an 'Expositio Fidei' or an 'Expositio Symboli.' And further it is necessary to discriminate between the two latter terms, 'an Exposition of the Faith' and 'an Exposition of the Creed or Symbol;' they are perfectly distinct, Fides in the first of these two expressions not denoting, as it often does, a formula of the faith or symbol, but the substance of the faith. The first, too, is applied to Creeds or Professions of Faith in general, and particularly to those of Nice and Constantinople, and not only to the Quicunque; but I doubt whether a single instance can be found of the second being used of any Creed. And hence, by the way, it is a mistake to infer that the Athanasian Creed partakes rather of the nature of a comment than a Creed, from the fact of its being called sometimes 'an Exposition of the Faith,' the description being common to Creeds in general. Thus this term 'Expositio Fidei,' an exposition of the Faith, not

being identical in meaning with the term used by Honoratus respecting the lost work of Hilary, "Expositio Symboli," or exposition of the Creed, and being also employed in reference to Creeds in general, notably the Nicene Creed, and not the Athanasian Creed only, the three instances alleged by Waterland in which it is applied to the Athanasian Creed are really irrelevant. It remains that his tables of titles supply but one instance to his purpose—the single one—namely, in which the Athanasian Creed is called an "*Expositio Symboli.*" Let this be described in his own words. "In the Bodleian at Oxford there is a manuscript copy of this Creed (No. 1205) which has for its title *Anastasii Expositio Symboli Apostolorum.* It is about 300 years old, and belonged once to the Carthusian monks at Mentz." Accordingly he dates the MS. A.D. 1400. The instance would not be very ancient, if it were real. But the fact appears to be that Waterland must have been misinformed as to this manuscript. Three years ago I ventured upon the conjecture that there must be some mistake with respect to the above title, as most unlikely to have been used for describing the Athanasian Creed; and my conjecture proves to be correct. The manuscript referred to, now called Laud, 493, is not a copy of the Athanasian Creed at all, nor does it give a formal text of this Creed; but it contains *inter alia* comments upon the three Creeds, compiled by Hugh and Richard of St. Victor. The comment upon

the Athanasian commences "*Hic tractatur de symbolo Sancti Anastasii,*" and terminates "*Explicit exposicio Symboli Anastasii.*" In three other places the Quicunque bears this title of 'Symbolum Anastasii,' and in the comment on the Nicene Creed is described as "Symbolum Athanasii." It may be interesting to mention that the Athanasian Creed is divided by the comment into three parts, "prohemium" consisting of the two first verses; "tractatus," which is divided further into two parts—1st, "distribuantur ea quæ describenda sunt de Deitate;" 2nd, "ea quæ credenda sunt de humanitate"—and "epylogum," consisting of the last verse; the first and the last being clearly treated as belonging to the Symbolum. The comment upon the *Apostles' Creed* is called "Expositio Symboli Apostolorum," and that upon the Nicene, "Expositio Symboli Sanctorum Patrum." The MS. is considered to be nearer to A.D. 1300 in date than A.D. 1400. For this information I am indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. J. W. Burgon, Fellow of Oriel College, and the Rev. W. D. Macray, Rector of Ducklington, Oxfordshire, mainly to the latter. Thus the single instance which was apposite to Waterland's purpose falls to the ground. In the manuscript to which he appeals, the Athanasian Creed is several times called 'Symbolum Anastasii,' once 'Symbolum Athanasii,' but never 'Anastasii Expositio Symboli Apostolorum.' It is the *comment* upon the Athanasian Creed, and not the Creed

itself, which is called "Expositio Symboli Anastasii;' and it is the *comment* upon the Apostles' Creed, not the Athanasian Creed, which is called 'Expositio Symboli Apostolorum.'

Thus it is that even learned and able men, in maintaining a favourite theory, are apt to be betrayed into unsound arguments and unguarded admissions, which eventually prove damaging to the cause which they wish to serve. Dr. Swainson, though repudiating the conclusion of Waterland with respect to the authorship, did not fail to accept the premisses on which it was founded; and indeed he was fairly entitled to adduce in support of his own view that the Athanasian Creed is "not a Creed, but an exposition of the Creed," an explanation or comment upon the Creed, the language which Waterland incautiously used in his anxiety to prove the Creed to be the work of Hilary of Arles, and the description of it which that author cited erroneously from the Bodleian MS.* As to the nature of the lost work of Hilary, described by his biographer as 'Expositio Symboli Ambienda,' there cannot be the least doubt that it was simply a comment upon, or explanation of, the Apostles' Creed, which the term 'Symbolum' occurring alone commonly designates. Such comments were very generally used for the instruction of the faithful, and the clergy were particularly required to be familiar with

* 'Athanasian Creed: its usage,' etc. pp. 41–43.

them. So the first of Hincmar's Capitula directs every Presbyter, in accordance with the tradition of the Orthodox Fathers, to know fully 'expositionem Symboli atque Orationis Dominicæ.' That this does not mean the Athanasian Creed is perfectly clear, as the very same Capitulum proceeds to enjoin the Clergy to learn that Creed by heart. The very same directions are repeated in Regino's Collection. In fact, in his zeal for his theory, Waterland has involved a very simple matter in obscurity. In our own age, Mr. Harvey, perceiving apparently the weakness of Waterland's theory, and doubtless anxious, like him, to fix the authorship upon some ancient writer, has ascribed the Creed to Victricius, Bishop of Rouen, about A.D. 400; but this, in common with all other theories concerning the origin of the Creed, whether coming from its opponents or its admirers, is simply devoid of proof. In regard to the substitution of 'Anastasius' for 'Athanasius,' which occurs in the above-mentioned MS. as in others, and in which Mr. Harvey discovers a clue for tracing the authorship to Victricius, it is sufficient to refer to the well-known remarks of Waterland, who considers it to have originated in the mistakes of copyists.

And it is a matter of no moment that the origin of the Athanasian Creed is thus veiled in mystery, that we are ignorant, and likely to remain ignorant, of the name of its author, of the precise date and occasion and locality of its composition, and whether or not,

like the other Creeds, it was brought to its present completeness by a process of growth extending over a considerable period of time. One of our grand and venerable cathedrals commands our admiration by its intrinsic grandeur and beauty; and we do not admire it the less because the very name of the designer or architect is buried in oblivion. It is sacred in our estimation as the shrine of Christian devotion during many past generations; and we do not reverence it the less because we may be unable to fix the exact date when its erection was completed, or to solve the various archæological difficulties suggested by this or that peculiarity in the structure. The Athanasian Creed bases its title to our attachment not upon the prestige surrounding the memory of any individual, however illustrious or honoured, to whom it may be or has been ascribed; nor yet even upon its antiquity, though we have reason to be thankful for the evidences of its antiquity which we possess, as necessarily enhancing its claims upon our veneration. Indeed, even if its antiquity could be disproved, if it could be shown that it was not composed at an earlier period than the eighth or ninth century, the substantial grounds for our adhesion to it would remain untouched. These are its acceptance by the Church, and its value as a compendious statement of revealed dogmatic truth. Its acceptance by the Church, the Western Church at least, is a fact beyond dispute. True, it is not recited

in the offices of the Eastern Church; neither is the Apostles' Creed. True, it was not promulgated nor sanctioned by an Œcumenical Council; neither was the Apostles' Creed. Is the title of the latter creed to be considered a catholic confession admitted without question on account of the generality of its reception, although it was never authorised by a General Council, and has no place in the formularies of the Eastern Church? The Athanasian Creed must also be regarded as a catholic confession; for it has been received as widely, and has been recited as long in the offices of the Church, as the Apostles' Creed. Its intrinsic value consists in this, that it is a true representation of the mind of the Catholic Church, as informed by the Holy Spirit, respecting those great and fundamental doctrines of revelation, the Trinity and the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ; a fact which has been proved to demonstration by the abundant evidences of its substantial and even literal accordance with the teaching of Fathers and Councils, or in other words, with Holy Scripture as interpreted by the Church Universal. From this circumstance it received its most ancient appellation of "the Catholic Faith."

And while we are thus careful not to lose sight of the true principles on which the Athanasian Creed is 'most thoroughly to be received and believed,' and to avoid resting our case upon a name or a date, it is also important to take a measure of the grave issues involved

in the controversy—which, I fear, is not yet set at rest—respecting its retention. With the view of meeting the scruples of those who object to the so-called Damnatory Clauses, it has been proposed to expunge them from the Creed, and to recite it without them, or at any rate to make their recital optional. How far such a course is practicable it would be beyond my purpose to consider at present. But suppose it to be so; for the Church of England to adopt it, to cease to recite these clauses, or expunge them, after having recited them as part of the Creed for hundreds of years, would be in point of fact a plain declaration on her part that in her judgment these clauses are untrue, if not in themselves, at least as applied in the Creed; that in her judgment it is not necessary to salvation to believe the Catholic Faith concerning the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation; that in her judgment these doctrines are not part of God's Revealed Truth, of 'the faith once delivered to the saints,' but mere matters of opinion, which a man may accept or reject without being better or worse, without spiritual profit or loss. For clearly nothing could justify the removal of the clauses referred to but their untruth. Persons talk of objecting *only* to these clauses, while they accept the teaching of the Creed. The real point at issue is, whether the Faith declared by the Creed is God's Truth or not, or whether there is any Revealed Truth at all. But this expedient would not meet the scruples of all; for many, with greater

consistency, extend their objections beyond these clauses to the doctrinal statements of the Creed. Hence the other main proposal—to withdraw the Creed from recital in the services of the Church, and to consign it to the shelf, to a position of dignified retirement, where in future it might be studied by the clergy and consulted by the learned at their discretion; or, which would amount to the same eventually, to make the recital optional. This would be the practical abandonment of the Creed, the avowed silencing of her testimony and teaching. The Church of England would cease to bear that distinct and public witness to the Catholic Faith, particularly in regard to the Trinity and Incarnation, which she has hitherto borne; she would bury in the earth a precious talent committed to her by her Lord, not only that she might keep it, but that she might trade with it, and the talent would be taken from her; and in the Providential order of events the loss of this gift of God would be followed by the loss of other gifts of His grace. Clearly this would be of the two courses the most consistent. In either case the warning voice would be silenced by which the Church lovingly reminds all her children of the necessity to salvation of a belief in the right faith, and of the eternal woe which every man must incur who rejects that faith against light and knowledge. Neither course could be justified, except upon the hypothesis of the Creed's untruth. But verily if the Athanasian Creed is in error, then has every

clergyman of the Church of England set his hand to a lie, when, on the most solemn occasion in his life, he subscribed the assertion that this as well as the other two Creeds 'ought thoroughly to be believed and received, for' it 'may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture,'* then must the theology of the Primitive Church, particularly of the fourth and fifth centuries, which is correctly portrayed in the Creed, be at variance with Holy Scripture, and the same Convocation which first required clerical submission to the Thirty-nine Articles was wrong in enjoining preachers that nothing should be taught as matter of faith but that which is agreeable to the Old and New Testaments, and collected out of the same by the ancient fathers and Catholic Bishops of the Church; and every perversion of the truth which the ingenuity or prejudice or pride of man may deduce, or pretend to deduce, from Holy Scripture—Arianism, Sabellianism, Tritheism, Socinianism—must be alike allowable and harmless. And yet more, if the Athanasian Creed is erroneous, then we Christians are wandering in a mist, and the promises of Christ that He would be ever with His Church, that by the perpetual indwelling and teaching of His Holy Spirit He would guide it into all truth, and that the gates of hell should never prevail against it, have failed as regards the very fundamentals of His religion, and the Church is not what it is represented

* Article viii.

to be—the pillar and ground of the Truth; and with good reason it may desist from the work of preaching the gospel to the heathen, for it can tell them nothing certain, nothing definite, concerning Him in whom it invites them to believe, as to who and whence He is. Mr. Brewer asserted "that there is no safe ground between infidelity and the Athanasian Creed. On this Creed churches and nations must take their stand, or expect to fall." It was a strong assertion, but I believe a true one.

It was this my deep sense of the gravity of the issues involved in the controversy respecting the Athanasian Creed which awakened in me the desire to supply an answer, so far as lay in my power, to the theories of Mr. Ffoulkes and Dr. Swainson; for it was easy to foresee that, however groundless they might be, they would have the effect of stimulating and strengthening the opposition to the Creed. And so it has been. The one has caused the Creed to be denounced as a forgery; and Mr. Ffoulkes' romance has been accepted in some quarters as history. The other gave rise to a notion, which at one time appeared to obtain a wide acceptance, and has not yet entirely passed away, that the Creed might be proved to have been originally something very different from what it is now, and from what it has been as long as it has been received and recited in the Church Catholic; and thus encouragement has been afforded to the scheme

for remodelling the Creed by removing from it everything which can occasion offence to the most sensitive tastes—a scheme which can never succeed as regards its immediate object, but indirectly does great mischief by strengthening the hands of those who wish to get rid of the Creed altogether. To me it is a subject of thankfulness to the Supreme Disposer of events that He has permitted me to carry my desire into effect notwithstanding the pressure of professional duties, which has unavoidably caused delay in a matter specially requiring expedition; and I pray Him to prosper this little work to the accomplishment of the end with which it was undertaken; namely, the promotion of His truth.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

BENEDICT'S PREFACE TO HIS THREE BOOKS OF CAPITULA.

IT is headed, "Incipit sequentium Capitulorum Præfatio." It commences, "De conglutinatione et communicatione septem librorum" (viz., the four books of Ansegisus, and his own three) "capitulorum videlicet dominicorum, qualiterque, quibus, et a quibus collecti, ordinati atque conscripti esse monstrantur, sequens indicat lectio, et qui etiam istis panduntur versiculis." Then follow the verses:

"Quattuor explicitis, lector venerande, libellis
Qui canonum recitant jura tenenda satis,
Quosque pater quondam collegit nobilis apte
Ansegisus ovans, ductus amore Dei;
Autcario demum, quem tunc Mogontia summum
Pontificem tenuit, præcipiente pio,
Post Benedictus ego ternos levita libellos
Adnexi, legis quis recitatur opus;
Quos patet inventos, præfatio pandit ut ipsa,
Distinctim titulis subpositisque suis."

He then describes his object in composing his own three books; viz., to supply the omissions and deficiencies of the four previously drawn up by Ansegisus.

"Præcedentes quattuor libelli" (viz., Ansegisus' books) "nonnulla gloriosissimorum Karoli" (viz., Charles the Great) atque Hludowici imperatorum continent capitula, quæ eorum tempore ab Ansegiso Abbate sunt collecta atque in prædictis coacta libellis, sicut in eorundem proœmio continetur. Sed quia ab eo nec media, ut rati sumus, sunt forsitan inventa vel collecta, necesse erat ut a fidelibus, ubicunque inveniri potuissent, quærerentur et ob recordationem tantorum principum vel eorundem capitulorum utilitatem coadunarentur et membranis insererentur atque a fidelibus memoriæ commendarentur. Quapropter ea, quæ ille aut invenire nequivit, aut inserere fortasse noluit, et illa quæ postmodum a fidelibus sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ et Pippini ac Karoli atque Hludowici didicimus in jamdictis libellis minime esse inserta, pro Dei omnipotentis amore et sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ ac servorum ejus atque totius populi utilitate fideliter investigare curavimus et in *tribus subsequentibus libellis* distincte cum titulis suis coadunare, ac Hludowici Hlotharioque atque Karolo" (viz., Charles the Bald) "nobilissimis regibus, filiis scilicet Hludowici piissimi imperatoris, habenda et omnium christianorum fidelibus tradenda scribere non distulimus; ut scirent, qualiter juxta normam avi proavi ac genitoris secundum Domini scilicet voluntatem, sicut et illi fecerunt, clerum et populum sibi commissum Domino opem ferente regere mererentur."

Next he describes the sources from whence he had drawn his materials.

"Hæc vero capitula, quæ *in subsequentibus tribus libellis* coadunare studuimus, in diversis locis et in diversis scedulis, sicut in diversis synodis ac placitis generalibus edita erant, sparsim invenimus, et maxime in sanctæ Mogontiacensis metropolis ecclesiæ scrinio a Riculfo ejusdem sanctæ sedis metropolitano recondita, et demum ab Autgario secundo ejus

successore atque consanguineo inventa repperimus, quæ in hoc opusculo tenore suprascripto inserere maluimus."

Then, after stating that he had not had time to arrange his materials so as to avoid all repetition and confusion, he adds:

"Precamur etiam omnes, ut si *deinceps* plura ex his invenerint, quæ memoratus Ansegisus non inseruit, nec nos potuimus hactenus invenire, ut ea illis *in quarto aut quinto libello* distinctim inserere non pigeat; quatinus ipsi ex hoc gratiam Dei habeant, et clerus et populus eorum utilitatibus non careat, quoniam valde sunt utilia hæc capitula," etc. The italics throughout are my own.

Then, after mentioning that he had prefixed to his books some laudatory verses in honour of the princes beforementioned, and describing his first and second books, he proceeds to describe the third:

"*Tertio* siquidem *in libello* post ejusdem libelli capitulorum numerum quædam ex canonibus a Paulino episcopo et Albino magistro reliquisque jussione Karoli invictissimi principis magistris sparsim collecta sunt inserta capitula; et quibusdam interpositis, sequuntur alia regulæ monasticæ congruentia; et demum ea quæ secuntur, ad sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ servorumque ejus atque totius christiani populi utilitatem sunt conscripta capitula, sicut in eodem continentur libello."

In this sentence, clearly referring solely to Benedict's third book, Mr. Ffoulkes discovers a description of the four books of additions! This is his only ground for the assertion that "Benedict the Levite . . . . in express terms attributes" the last of these books "to Paulinus and Alcuin."* If any proof of the falsity of a hypothesis which has no foundation whatever to rest upon were required, it might be found in

* 'Athanasian Creed Reconsidered,' p. 63.

Benedict's urgent request contained in this very preface and cited above, that if materials should afterwards ('*deinceps*') be found which were not comprised in Ansegisus' books, and had escaped his own notice, they might be arranged in another separate book. This is a plain evidence that so far from regarding the four books of additions as an appendix to his own three books, or describing them in his preface, he could not at the time have been aware of their existence. Plainly he knew of no collections of Capitularies but that of Ansegisus and his own. The preface is simply an account of his own three books. After describing the third, he concludes with a request for the prayers of his readers on behalf of the princes who had enacted these Capitularies, and of the faithful who had aided in drawing them up, and of himself who had collected them.

Note B.

"Deinde cum matris hortatu filiam Desiderii, regis Longobardorum, duxisset uxorem, incertum qua de causa post annum eam repudiavit, et Hildegardem de gente Suevorum in matrimonium accepit, de qua tres filios . . . totidemque filias . . . genuit. Habuit et alias tres filias . . . duas de Fastrada uxore, quæ de Orientalium Francorum, Germanorum videlicet, gente erat, tertiam de concubina quadam, cujus nomen modo memoriæ non occurrit. Defuncta Fastrada, Lindgardam Alamannam duxit, de qua nihil liberorum tulit. Post cujus mortem tres habuit concubinas."*

The following is Charlemagne's character as given by Walafrid Strabo:

* 'B. Caroli Magni Vita Auctore Einhardo,' 18; Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. xcvii.

"Sortibus hic hominum dum vitam in corpore gessit
Justitiæ nutritor erat, sæcloque moderno
Maxima pro Domino fecit documenta vigere,
Protexitque pio sacram tutamine plebem;
Et velut in mundo sumpsit speciale cacumen,
Recta volens, dulcique volans per regna favore.
Ast hic quam sæva sub conditione tenetur,
Tam tristique notam sustentat peste severam,
Oro, refer. Tum ductor: In his cruciatibus, inquit,
Restat ob hoc, quando bona facta libidine turpi
Fædavit, ratus illecebras sub mole bonorum
Assumi, et vitam voluit finire suetis
Sordibus; ipse tamen vitam captabit opimam
Dispositum a Domino gaudens invadet honorem."*

NOTE C.

The preposition *a* or *ab* used indiscriminately with *ex* by Latin theologians in reference to the Procession.

"Procedit enim ex utroque non nascendo . . . non igitur ab utroque est genitus, sed procedit ab utroque amborum Spiritus."† "Credimus et in Spiritum Sanctum . . . a Patre et Filio procedentem;" and afterwards "ex Patre et Filio procedentem."‡ "Quo pacto credi potest ut . . . Spiritus Sanctus non a Patre Filioque essentialiter et inseparabiliter semper procedat?" (Paulinus' speech at Friuli, sec. 8. He uses these words in his argument justifying the addition to the Creed, "Qui ex Patre Filioque procedit.")§ "Beatus Cyrillus . . . Spiritum Sanctum a Patre Filioque procedere testatur dicens . . . 'Spiritus veritatis nominatur, et est Christus veritas, et profluit ab eo, sicut ex Deo et Patre.'"‖

* 'Walafridi Strabi carmina de Visionibus Wettini;' Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. cxiv. p. 1075. † 'Libri Carolini,' iii. 3.

‡ The profession of faith in Charlemagne's Epistle to the Spanish Bishops. Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. xcviii. p. 905.

§ Ibid, tom. xcix. p. 287. ‖ 'Alcuin de Processione,' cap. i.

Again, the preposition *a* is used in reference to the Procession by Charlemagne in his Epistle to Leo III., "De hac igitur ipsa processione, qua Spiritus Sanctus a Filio procedit, sicut procedit a Patre,"* etc., and repeatedly; and by Leo III. in his "symbolum orthodoxæ fidei" sent to the Eastern Churches: "Spiritum Sanctum a Patre et a Filio æqualiter procedentem, consubstantialem et coæternum Patri et Filio."† This is remarkable, as coming from the same Pope who deprecated the singing of the Creed with the Filioque introduced in the Churches of France, though probably his reason for so doing was that the custom was not in use in the Roman Church. And we find the same preposition used, as well as *ex* and *de*, in reference to this subject by earlier Latin writers up to Tertullian: "Constat quia Paracletus Spiritus a Patre semper procedit et Filio."‡ "Si quis Spiritum Sanctum non credit aut non crediderit a Patre et Filio procedere . . . anathema sit:" this was one of the anathemas of the Third Council of Toledo held A.D. 589, the same which first enjoined the Constantinopolitan Creed with the Filioque to be recited at Mass. "Credo Spiritum a Patre et Filio processisse non minorem et quasi ante non esset, sed æqualem et semper cum Patre et Filio coæternum Deum, consubstantialem natura, æqualem omnipotentia, consempiternum essentia."§ A note in Migne's edition states that all editions and MSS. give this passage with the Filioque. "Nos vero Spiritum Sanctum dicimus a Patre et Filio procedere;" and afterwards "Hoc certe per se Dominus, 'Spiritum,' inquit, 'veritatis qui a Patre procedit.'

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. xcviii. p. 928.

† Baluzii, 'Miscellanea,' tom. ii. p. 85, edit. 1761.

‡ 'Gregor. Dialog.' i. 2, c. 38.

§ 'S. Gregorii Turonensis Historiæ,' liber primus, prologus col. 6.

Enimvero non dicendo processit, sed procedit, non tempus procedentis docuit, sed, præterito futuroque submoto, sub interminabilis æternitate præsentiæ virtutem processionis ostendit; ut sicut est proprium Spiritui Sancto a Patre Filioque procedere, istud catholica fides," etc.* "Quapropter qui potest intelligere sine tempore generationem Filii de Patre, intelligat sine tempore processionem Spiritus Sancti de utroque . . . Si enim quicquid habet, de Patre habet Filius; de Patre habet utique ut et de illo procedat Spiritus Sanctus. Sed nulla ibi tempora cogitentur, quæ habent prius et posterius: quia omnino nulla ibi sunt . . . Filius autem de Patre natus est: et Spiritus Sanctus de Patre principaliter, et ipso sine ullo temporis intervallo dante, communiter de utroque procedit. . . . Non igitur ab utroque est genitus, sed procedit ab utroque amborum Spiritus."† "Nec possumus dicere quod Spiritus Sanctus et a Filio non procedat, neque enim frustra idem Spiritus et Patris et Filii esse dicitur . . . Neque enim flatus ille corporeus, cum sensu temporaliter tangendi procedens ex corpore, substantia Spiritus Sancti fuit, sed demonstratio per congruam significationem non tantum a Patre, sed et a Filio procedere Spiritum Sanctum."‡ And before St. Augustine: "Spiritus quoque Sanctus cum procedit a Patre et Filio, non separatur a Patre, non separatur a Filio."§ "Spiritus autem Sanctus vere Spiritus est, procedens quidem a Patre et Filio, sed non ipse Filius, quia non generatur, neque Pater, quia procedit ab utroque."‖ "Tertius enim est Spiritus a Deo et Filio, sicut tertius a radice, fructus a frutice."¶

* 'Avitus Viennensis de Divinitate Spiritus Sancti,' Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. lix. pp. 385, 386. † 'S. Augus. de Trin.' l. xv. c. 47.
‡ Ibid, l. iv. c. 29. § 'S. Ambros. de Spiritu Sancto,' l. i. c. 11.
‖ Ibid, 'De Symbolo,' c. 3. ¶ 'Tertullian adv. Prax.' c. 8.

It is clear, then, that Latin writers from the first spoke of the Holy Spirit as proceeding *a* Patre et Filio. But I give this catena of quotations not only as establishing this point, but also for the purpose of showing that the doctrine of the double Procession was taught in the Western Church from the earliest period. It would be easy to multiply quotations in support of this doctrine, especially if passages were adduced making use of the prepositions *ex* and *de* as well as *a*. With the view of proving that the early Greek fathers were of one mind with the Latins on this point, though they did not express themselves in the same way, Dr. Pusey has given, in the notes to his sermon on 'The Responsibility of the Intellect in Matters of Faith' (pp. 11 and 55–59), a large collection of passages from St. Cyril of Alexandria and other writers. It is very desirable to draw attention to the early testimonies in support of the Procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son at the present time, when a movement is being made in the American Church (and it has met with some sympathy among ourselves) to remove the 'Filioque' from the Nicene, or rather Constantinopolitan, Creed, "in the vain hope," as Dr. Pusey says, "of conciliating the Greeks." In his Appendix to Sir T. Duffus Hardy's 'Further Report on the Utrecht Psalter' (pp. 53, 54) the Rev. R. C. Jenkins asserts that this doctrine was unknown before the ninth century! Are we to suppose, then, that all the Fathers and Councils before that period who speak of the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father and Spirit merely meant that He was sent by both? that they confounded the Procession and Mission? He argues that St. Gregory of Tours, in the passage above quoted, "limited his confession of the Double Procession to the sense of Mission," and he rests his proof of this on the words "quasi ante non esset," with which he concludes

his quotation. But what immediately follows clearly shows that the words simply refer to the existence of the Holy Spirit before time was. Charlemagne, in his letter to Leo III., says that the question concerning the Procession had lately arisen, but adds at the same time that "it had long since been ventilated most diligently by the holy Fathers." In the above passages from Gregory the Great and Avitus, and in one of those from St. Augustine, not only is the Double Procession asserted, but it is expressly asserted to have been from all eternity. The first of the passages from St. Augustine is especially remarkable in this respect, as well as for its assertion of the monarchia of the Father, as perfectly consistent with the doctrine.

NOTE D.

The portion of Alcuin's letter to Paulinus which, in Mr. Ffoulkes' opinion, refers to the Athanasian Creed: "Quid? cum beatitudinis vestræ litteras omni favo dulciores intueri mereor, nonne videor mihi inter varios paradisi flores totus conversari, et avida desiderii mei dextera spiritales exinde carpere fructus? Quanto magis cum sacratissimæ fidei vestræ libellum recensui, catholicæ pacis puritate ornatum, eloquentiæ venustate jucundissimum, sensuum veritate firmissimum; totius animi mei habenas in lætitiam laxavi. Ubi de uno lucidissimo et saluberrimo paradisi fonte quatuor virtutum flumina (Gen. ii. 10), non solum Ausoniæ fertilitatis prata, sed totius ecclesiasticæ Latinitatis rura irrigare conspexi. Ubi et aurivomos spiritalium sensuum gurgites gemmis scholasticæ urbanitatis abundare intellexi. Quam plurimis vero profuturum, et pernecessarium fecistis opus in catholicæ fidei taxatione, quod diu optavi, et sæpius domino regi suasi, ut symbolum catholicæ fidei planissimis sensibus et sermonibus luculentissi-

mis in unam congregaretur chartulam, et per singulas episcopalium regiminum parochias omnibus daretur presbyteris legenda memoriæque commendanda." *

Note E.

'Taxare' is used of defining, stating a matter, particularly in doctrinal formulæ or professions of faith.

Instances: "Hæc est catholicæ traditionis fidei vera integritas, quam... beati Hieronymi verbis expressam taxavimus." † "His verbis hisque sententiis fidelium confessio roboretur, quæ sanctæ et universales synodi in symbolo taxaverunt." ‡ It must be borne in mind that not only were these books composed at the time when Alcuin flourished, but very probably he had some hand in their composition. These quotations, therefore, are very apposite for illustrating his use of the word. Again: "Nam et illud de duabus viis congrue hic et convenienter taxandum est . . . . in quibus viis diversorum hominum obedientiæ gradiuntur." § There is an editorial note on this passage: "Taxandum, id est, *definiendum*. Glossæ veteres: Taxamus, ὁρίζομεν id est *definimus*. Festus: *Taxat* verbum ponitur pro his quæ finiuntur," etc. The editors were Holstenius and Hugo Menardus. Benedict Anianensis was a contemporary and an intimate friend of Alcuin. The word is used in a rather different sense by St. Anselm—of drawing up a creed: "Si autem dicunt nullo modo debuisse corrumpi Symbolum tanta auctoritate taxatum, nos non judicamus esse corruptionem, ubi

* Epis. 113, Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. c. p. 341.

† 'Libri Carolini,' iii. 1. ‡ Ibid, iii. 3.

§ 'S. Benedicti Anianensis Concordia Regularum,' cap. viii. 7; Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. cvii. p. 821.

nihil addimus quod his, quæ ibi dicta sunt, adversetur."* This is said in reference to the insertion of the Filioque in the Creed of Constantinople.

NOTE F.

The sentence added at the conclusion of St. Jerome's Creed in the Carolinian Books is as follows: "Hæc est vera fides, hanc confessionem conservamus atque tenemus, quam quisque inconvulse et intemerate custodierit, perpetuam salutem habebit."† The following is the conclusion of the profession of faith of the Fourth Council of Toledo, A.D. 633: "Hæc est catholicæ ecclesiæ fides, hanc confessionem servamus atque tenemus, quam quisquis firmissime custodierit, perpetuam salutem habebit."

NOTE G.

"Quam absurdum, quam vero et iniquum; utrumque autem quam Deo indignum, aliam substantiam operari, aliam mercede dispungi: ut *hæc* quidem *caro* per martyria lanietur, *alia* vero coronetur: item e contrario *hæc* quidem *caro* in spurcitiis volutetur, *alia* vero damnetur."‡ "Nostri autem illud quoque recogitent, corpora eadem recepturas in resurrectione animas, in quibus decesserunt."§ Tertullian's doctrine appears identical with that of the Aquileian Church as explained by Rufinus himself, but could not have been derived from it. "Et ideo satis caute Ecclesia nostra fidem Symboli docet, quæ in eo quod a cæteris traditur, carnis resurrectionem, uno addito pronomine tradidit Hujus resurrectionem. *Hujus* sine dubio, quam habet is, qui profitetur,

* S. Anselm, 'De Processione Spiritus Sancti,' cap. xxii.

† 'Libri Carolini,' iii. cap. 1.

‡ 'Tertull. de Resur. Carnis," c. 56. § Ibid, 'De Anima,' c. 55.

signaculo crucis fronti imposito; quo sciet unus quisque fidelium carnem suam, si mundam servaverit a peccato, futurum esse vas honoris, utile Domino ad omne opus bonum paratum; si vero contaminatur in peccato, futurum esse vas iræ ad interitum."* And just before he had used almost the language of Tertullian: "Ita fit ut unicuique animæ non confusum aut extraneum corpus, sed suum quod habuerat reparetur, ut consequenter possit pro agonibus præsentis vitæ cum anima sua caro vel pudica coronari vel impudica puniri." It is probable that Rufinus borrowed from Tertullian; the reverse is impossible. St. Jerome was the opponent of Rufinus, and did not receive the article concerning the resurrection with the addition of the pronoun, as it was received in the Church of Aquileia. Therefore his doctrine could not have been derived from Rufinus, nor from the Aquileian Church. Thus he expresses himself: "Sed et ipsum resurrectionis vocabulum significat non aliud ruere, aliud suscitari; et quod adjicitur mortuorum, carnem propriam demonstrat: quod enim in homine moritur, *hoc* et vivificatur."† And: "Angelorum nobis similitudo promittitur, id est beatitudo illa, in qua sine carne et sexu sunt angeli, nobis in carne et sexu nostro donabitur."‡ He maintained that the distinction of the sexes would continue in the future life. St. Hilary of Poictiers uses language almost identical with that of the Athanasian Creed: "Sed et illa 'tanquam vas figuli' non ignoranda confractio est, tum cum *his corporibus* dissolutis, et casu mortis confractis, pro voluntate artificis restauratio afferetur."§ And Gregory the

* 'Rufini Commentarius in Symbolum Apost.' xliii.

† 'S. Hieronymi liber con. Joannem Hierosolynitanum,' cap. xxxiii.

‡ Ibid, cap. xxxi.

§ 'S. Hilarii Tractatus,' in Ps. ii. 41; also ibid in Ps. lvi. 12.

Great: "Sciendum quippe mihi est utrum in quodam alio subtili fortasse vel aereo an in eo quo moriar corpore resurgam. Sed si in aereo corpore surrexero, jam ego non ero, qui resurgo . . . . nec enim resurrectio dici potest, ubi non resurgit, quod cecidit."* And Gennadius: "Si id resurgere dicitur, quod cadit, caro ergo nostra in veritate resurget, sicut in veritate cadit. Et non secundum Originem immutatio corporum erit, id est, aliud novum corpus pro carne, sed eadem caro corruptibilis, quæ cadit, tam justorum quam injustorum, incorruptibilis resurget, quæ vel pœnam sufferre possit pro peccatis, vel in gloria æterna manere pro meritis."†

Note H.

The following is the passage in which the 19th and 20th clauses of the Athanasian Creed are quoted, or rather adapted, by Hincmar: "Unde constantissime catholica fides prædicat deitatis unitatem in Trinitate personarum, et Trinitatem personarum in unitate deitatis venerari debere. Quoniam *sicut singillatim unamquamque personam Deum et Dominum* plenum ac perfectum, et quicquid substantialiter dici de Deo potest, propter unam eandemque deitatem, quæ tota in singulis est personis, *confiteri Christiana veritate compellimur, ita tres deos vel dominos dicere*, propter unam eandemque deitatem, sanctæ scilicet Trinitatis unitatem, quæ tota et indivisa atque inseparabilis simul est in tribus sanctæ Trinitatis personis, *catholica religione prohibemur.*"‡ What makes it the more clear, if possible, that he is here quoting the 19th and 20th clauses of the Creed, is the obvious

* S. Gregory, 'M. Moralium,' lib. xiv. cap. 55.

† 'Liber de Eccles. Dogmatibus.'

‡ Hincmar, 'De Una non Trina Deitate,' col. 427; Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. cxxv. p. 489.

reference to, or rather quotation of, another clause, the 27th, in the preceding sentence. The words of the two first clauses are printed in italics.

Note I.

The Profession of Faith to which Hincmar required the assent of the dying Gothescalcus: "Fides catholica hæc est, ut unum Deum in trinitate personarum, et trinitatem personarum in unitate deitatis veneremur, neque confundentes personas, sicut Sabellius, ut tres non sint, neque ut Arius substantiam separantes, ut trina sit, quia alia et non aliud est persona Patris, alia et non aliud est persona Filii, alia et non aliud est persona Spiritus Sancti, sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una est divinitas, æqualis gloria, co-æterna majestas, et in hac sancta et inseparabili Trinitate nihil est prius aut posterius, nihil majus vel minus, sed totæ tres personæ, Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, co-æternæ sibi sunt et æquales, ita ut per omnia, sicut jam supradictum est, et Trinitas personarum in unitate deitatis, et unitas deitatis in Trinitate personarum veneranda sit."* Hincmar described this as the Faith concerning the Trinity, which was believed, confessed, and taught by the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.

Note J.

The following is the passage in which Hincmar, writing in the middle of the ninth century, alludes to the tradition respecting the composition of the Te Deum by St. Ambrose and St. Augustine at the Baptism of the latter as of old standing at that time:

* 'Hincmarus de Una non Trina Deitate,' col. 553, Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. cxxv. p. 617.

"Et in hymno ecclesiastica consuetudine frequentato dicit ad Christum: *Tu Patris sempiternus es Filius. Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem, non horruisti Virginis uterum. Tu, devicto mortis aculeo, aperuisti credentibus regna cœlorum.* Et quomodo intelligi debeat quod sanctus dixit Ambrosius: Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem: quia ut a majoribus nostris audivimus, tempore baptismatis sancti Augustini hunc hymnum beatus Ambrosius fecit, et idem Augustinus cum eo confecit," etc. *

NOTE K.

Copy of so much of Paris, Latin, 3836. (MS. Colbert 784), as relates to the Athanasian Creed, commonly known as the Colbert MS. of the Creed:

"HAEC INVINI TREVERIS IN UNO LIBRO SCRIPTUM. SIC INCIPIENTE DOMINI NOSTRI IHESV CHRISTI. ET RELIQUA. DOMINI. NOSTRI. IHESV CHRISTI FIDELITER CREDAT. Est ergo fides recta ut credamus et confitemur quia dominus ihesus christus dei filius. Deus pariter et homo est. Deus est de substantia patris Ante saecula genitus. et homo de substantia matris in saeculo natus. perfectus deus. perfectus homo ex anima rationabili. et humana carne subsistens aequalis patri saecundum divinitatem minor patri. secundum humanitatem qui licet deus. sit homo non duo tamen sed unus est christus. unus autem non ex eo quod sit in carne. Conversa divinitas. sed quia est in deo adsumpta dignanter humanitas. unus christus est non confusione substantiae sed unitatem personae qui secundum fidem nostram passus et mortuos ad inferna discendens. Et die tertia resurrexit adque ad celos ascendit. Ad dexteram dei patris sedet sicut nobis in simbulo tradutum est Inde ad iudicandos vivos et mortuos. credimus. Et spe-

* Hincmar, 'De Prædestinatione,' cap. 29.

ramus eum esse venturum. Ad cuius adventum erunt omnes homines. sine dubio in suis corporibus resurrecturi et reddituri de factis propriis rationem ut qui bona egerunt eant in vitam aeternam qui mala in ignem aeternum. Haec est fides sancta et catholica. quam omnes homo qui ad vitam aeternam pervenire desiderat scire integrae debet. et fideliter custodire."

This is copied from the fac-simile printed by the Palæographical Society. The spelling and punctuation are exactly transcribed; but the abbreviations are not represented.

Note L.

Muratori's opinion respecting the date of the MS. in the Ambrosian Library containing the Athanasian Creed:

"In alio etiam vetustissimo Ambrosianæ Bibliothecæ codice ante mille et plures annos scripto Symbolum idem sum nactus."* And "At nos in Ambrosiana Bibliotheca codicem MS. servamus e celebri Bibliotheca Bobiensi in nostram illatum, in quo Symbolum legas, omni tamen inscriptione destitutum. Idem autem codex ille est, unde Bachiarii apologiam exscripsimus, antiquissimus plane, quippe ante annos mille et plures exaratus, ut in prolegomenis ad Bachiarium et p. 16, prioris tomi Anecdotorum conjeci."†

Note M.

Parallel passages from St. Augustine: "Non dicimus tres omnipotentes, quomodo non dicimus tres Deos, si enim de singulis interrogemur, utrum Deus sit Pater, respondemus, Deus; utrum Deus sit Filius, respondemus, Deus; utrum Deus sit Spiritus Sanctus, respondemus, Deus. Cum autem de omnibus interrogati fuerimus, utrum tres sint, referimus

* 'Anecdota,' vol. i. p. 16. † Ibid, vol. ii. p. 224.

nos ad divinam Scripturam, dicentem, Audi Israel Dominus Deus tuus Dominus unus est. Sic et de singulis si quæratur, utrum Pater omnipotens sit; respondemus, omnipotens; si Filius, hoc idem respondemus; si Spiritus Sanctus, nec ipsum negamus omnipotentem. Nec tamen dicimus tres omnipotentes, quomodo non dicimus tres Deos: sed sicut illi tres unus Deus, sic simul illi tres unus omnipotens est."* "Quod vero ad se dicuntur singuli, non dici pluraliter tres, sed unum ipsam Trinitatem: sicut Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus Spiritus Sanctus; et omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius, omnipotens Spiritus Sanctus: nec tamen tres dii, aut tres boni, aut tres omnipotentes; sed unus Deus, bonus, omnipotens ipsa Trinitas; et quicquid aliud non ad invicem relative, sed ad se singuli dicuntur."†

Note N.

In 'Thomasii Opera,' vol. ii. p. 349 (Rome, 1747), there occurs the following note by the editor, Vezzosi, giving various titles of the Athanasian Creed: "Fides Catholica S. Athanasii Episcopi. *Ita hujus symboli inscriptio se habet in MS. Vat. 5729. At Vat. 81. et Alex. 12. inscribunt absolute:* Fides Catholica. *MS. Chisius* Fides Catholica S. Athanasii Episcopi Alexandriæ: *Vat. 82.* quam S. Athanasius dictavit: *Vat. 84.* edita a B. Athanasio Episcopo. *Vatic. 98. Palat. 30. et Basilicæ Vaticanæ olim sign. n. 11.* Incipit Fides Catholica S. Athanasii Episcopi. *Vat. 98. addit* Alexandrini; *et MS. Basilicæ Vat.* ab Athanasio edita. *Pal. 39.* Fides S. Athanasii Episcopi." Here we have mention of twelve manuscripts of the Creed as existing

* 'Aug. Collatio cum Maximino,' 12, vol. viii. p. 463.

† Ibid, 'De Trin.' viii. 1. Compare also ibid, 'De Trin.' v. 9; also ibid, 'De Civit. Dei,' lib. xi. cap. 24.

at Rome in the middle of the last century, of which we know nothing beyond the titles which we here learn that they apply to the Creed; and two of them, from their describing it simply as 'Fides Catholica,' are probably very ancient. The copy of the Creed contained in the Vienna MS., numbered 269 in Denis' account of the manuscripts of the Vienna Imperial Library, which seems from the mistake of the scribe—"Incipit de *inde* catholica athanasi"—to have been taken from an earlier manuscript,* and that in the additions to the collection in Vat. Palat. 574, which are assigned by the Ballerini to the last half of the eighth century, have both escaped attention.† Mabillon‡ gives a fac-simile of the first three verses of the Creed, "Ex codice Corbeiensi, No. 257," as a specimen of Saxon writing apparently earlier than Charlemagne. The manuscript contains, *inter alia*, Isidore de Officiis; and the Creed seems to occur after the seventeenth chapter of the second book of that work. This cannot be the same with the manuscript described by Montfaucon as "Sangermanensis noster num. 257," and also written in Saxon characters, and containing the Creed. It is to be observed that in the text Mabillon gives a different number to the Corbey manuscript; viz. 267. Here then we have notice of another early MS. of the Creed, possibly still in existence, which has likewise escaped attention.

* Denis, 'Codices Manuscripti,' etc. vol. i. pars. 1, Vindobonæ 1793, pp. 962–966.

† Ballerini, 'De Ant. Collectionibus Canonum,' pars. 11, cap. 10. § 3, in Galland's 'Sylloge.'

‡ 'De Re Diplomatica,' lib. v. tabella 4, tom. i. p. 367. Naples, 1789.

POSTSCRIPT

WHILST the foregoing pages have been passing through the press, Dr. Swainson's work, entitled 'The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds: their Literary History; together with an Account of the Growth and Reception of the Sermon on the Faith, commonly called "The Creed of St. Athanasius,"' has been published. This work has such an obvious bearing upon much which I have alleged, that I feel it necessary to add some remarks in reference to it.

In the first place I must make a retractation. Sirmond and others, Waterland among them, are of opinion that Hincmar, in his work 'De Prædestinatione,' quotes from the Athanasian Creed, describing it as a 'symbolum.' The passage in Hincmar is as follows: "Athanasius *in symbolo* dicens se credere in Christum, præmissis aliis, assumptum in cælis, sedere in dextera Patris, inde venturum judicare vivos et mortuos expectamus, in hujus morte et sanguine remissionem peccatorum consecuturi." The corresponding passage of the Creed is as follows: "Ascendit ad cælos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris Omnipotentis; inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos." Apart from the word 'Omnipotentis,' on which no stress can be laid, as it does not appear in the Ambrosian MS., the two passages present some variety of expression. At the same time, bearing in mind that in the quotations from the Creed made by Hincmar in his treatise,

'De una, non trina Deitate,' he never adheres to the exact text, but is in the habit of throwing in words, I have ventured upon the assertion, in the ninth section of my third chapter, that the allusion is obvious enough. It will be remembered that on a previous occasion Dr. Swainson made the conjecture that it is the Constantinopolitan Creed which is referred to by Hincmar; but in his present work (p. 417) he gives a passage from a 'libellus fidei' sometimes assigned to Athanasius, as in his opinion that which is quoted. And the resemblance, without being sufficiently exact to be convincing, is close enough to awaken suspicion. Recollecting that Hincmar frequently quotes the treatise of Vigilius Tapsensis on the Trinity as the work of Athanasius, and that a Profession of Faith is contained in it, it occurred to me to refer to this as possibly the 'symbolum' in question. There I found the following passage, which, it will be observed, corresponds all but literally with the quotation of Hincmar: "Assumptum in cælis, sedere ad dexteram Patris, inde venturum judicare vivos et mortuos expectamus, in hujus morte et sanguine remissionem peccatorum consecuturi." This must have been then the profession of faith quoted by Hincmar. It appears as the ninth book of Vigilius on the Trinity,* though probably it is not his work, and is entitled, 'Libellus Fidei,' and it is quoted under this title, as the work of St. Athanasius, by Ratramn.† It is also called 'Fides Romanorum' and 'Exemplar fidei catholicæ,' and is attributed to Damasus under the title of 'Damasi symbolum,' and to St. Jerome under that of 'Fides dicta a S. Hieronymo presbytero.'‡ It is ascribed by Quesnel to Gregory Bœticus, by

* Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. lxii. p. 287. † Lib. 3, con. Græcos.

‡ 'Quesnelli Dissertatio ii., de variis fidei libellis,' in Galland's 'Sylloge.'

the Ballerini to Gregory Nazianzen.* It is clearly the same in substance with that printed by Dr. Swainson (p. 273), and from which he thinks that Hincmar quoted; but they contain several verbal variations.

It can therefore no longer, I think, be maintained that Hincmar describes the Athanasian Creed as a 'symbolum,' and whatever arguments I have adduced upon the supposition that he does so, or that he quotes from the Creed in his work, 'De Prædestinatione,' I desire to retract. Dr. Swainson has succeeded in removing one of the difficulties which stood in his way. But the advantage is only of a negative kind. He has not got a step nearer to any positive proof of the truth of his theory. Granted that there was this other Profession of Faith, as well as the Quicunque, attributed to St. Athanasius in the ninth century, is this the faintest shadow of a proof that the latter was brought to its complete form in that century after a process of growth? or that it was a forgery of that age, as Dr. Swainson now, alas! asserts? On the contrary, it is only another instance showing how very commonly at that period the great Fathers of the Church were credited with works, and in particular Professions of Faith, in which they had had no hand. We are not compelled to resort to the hypothesis of forgery to account for a circumstance which may be accounted for otherwise with greater probability. As to the Profession of Faith in question, a very possible, indeed probable, account of its being attributed to St. Athanasius is to be found in the fact that it was annexed, with other expositions of the Faith, to the work of Vigilius on the Trinity, which was for many years classed among the writings of that Father, and was repeatedly quoted

* 'Editorum observationes in Quesnelli dissertationem,' in Galland's 'Sylloge.'

as his in the ninth century by Theodulph and Ratramn, as well as Hincmar. The cause of this work being attributed to St. Athanasius is not far to seek: it consists mainly of an imaginary discussion between that Father and a heretic. Whether it was really the composition of Vigilius, seems very doubtful; that the Profession of Faith of which we have been speaking is not his, appears certain.

This, however, is the only position which I see any reason to abandon after examining the vast collection of materials accumulated by Dr. Swainson. He adheres in the main to his theory, as last enunciated in his 'Plea for Time,' etc.; and the arguments, which I have alleged, so far as they were applicable to it in that and the previous phases, are applicable still, notwithstanding the slight, though significant, modification which he has adopted in regard to the period of the Creed's completion. It will be recollected that his theory as last enunciated in 1873 dated the completion of the Creed in 870 or 871, and attributed its completion to Hincmar. Now he states that "the whole evidence seems to show that the Quicunque was completed in the province of Rheims between the years 860 and 870."* In his former work he made the assertion that the Psalter of Charles the Bald 'professes to have been written in the year 870 or 871;' whereas it bears internal evidence, as appears in his present book, of having been written certainly before October 869, probably some years before that. It may be the discovery of the fact has led to this modification. In his 'Plea for Time,' etc., he was betrayed into the manifest inconsistency of maintaining that the Quicunque existed only in an incomplete and fragmentary state in the year 869, while at the same time he affirmed that it appeared in Psalters in its

* 'The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' etc. p. 448.

entirety in 870 or 871. Now he broaches the still greater paradox, that 'the Quicunque was completed in the province of Rheims between the years 860 and 870,' but was unknown to Hincmar, *the Archbishop of Rheims*, in 868 or 869, the period of the death of Gothescalcus (pp. 421 and 435). Under these circumstances he can no longer affirm that Hincmar completed the Creed; and on this point he appears to be silent.

Dr. Swainson falls into sad confusion in regard to two quotations made by Ratramn; one from the Athanasian Creed, the other from the Profession of Faith sometimes attributed to Athanasius, to which reference has already been made (pp. 446, 447). Ratramn quotes clauses 21, 22, and 23 of the Creed (commencing 'The Father is made of none'), introducing the quotation with the following words: "Beatus Athanasius Alexandriæ episcopus in libello de fide, quem edidit et omnibus catholicis tenendum proposuit, inter cætera sic ait."* Now the quotation being manifestly from the Athanasian Creed (the clauses are quoted exactly as they appear in the received text, except that *non* is read for *nec* in the 23rd—'non creatus, non genitus'), it would be supposed there could be no doubt as to what is meant by the 'libellus de fide, quem' (Athanasius) 'edidit;' but Dr. Swainson, being at a loss, 'could not but endeavour to discover what it was.' What is the result of his search? Ratramn, in the same book, after quoting several passages which are found in the work of Vigilius on the Trinity as from Athanasius, continues—"Item in libello fidei sic ait" (*i.e.* Athanasius), "Pater verus genuit Filium verum," etc. There can be no occasion to give the whole passage, which is obviously different from the clauses quoted from the Athanasian Creed,

* 'Ratramni con Græcorum opposita,' lib. ii. cap. 3.

though referring like them to the relations of the three Divine Persons. It is from the Profession of Faith, already spoken of, which is found in the 9th book of Vigilius on the Trinity. This, then, is the 'libellus fidei' from which the second quotation is taken, and that it is so is the more apparent from the fact of its being designated by this title in two MSS.* But there is no ground whatever for identifying with it the 'libellus de fide' from which the first quotation is taken. The two quotations are perfectly distinct, and so are the documents which supply them. And there is nothing in common between the two Professions, except that they are both quoted by Ratramn, and attributed by him to St. Athanasius. However, Dr. Swainson does identify them, and arrives at the conclusion that the 'libellus de fide,' although the passage quoted from it is found in the Athanasian Creed, is not that Creed, but the Profession of Faith which is described as 'libellus fidei,' and is found in Vigilius' work and elsewhere. So satisfied is he with this feat of accurate reasoning that he congratulates himself on "having convicted Ratramn of adducing from this well-known 'libellus Athanasii de fide' clauses which it did not contain!" Thus he confuses the two documents. Of course the 'libellus fidei' from which the second quotation is derived, not being the Athanasian Creed, does not contain clauses 21, 22, and 23 of that Creed, but the 'libellus de fide quem' (Athanasius) 'edidit' does contain them, for it is that Creed.

Next he endeavours to account for the repeated citation of these clauses previous to the time assigned by him for the completion of the Creed. "I am at liberty to suppose that

* Chifflet, 'Vigilii Tapsensis operum Vindiciæ,' vii.; Migne, 'Patrologia,' tom. lxii.

the quotations from Athanasius of our clauses 21, 22, 23 by Theodulf and Sirmonds' anonymous writer, and Æneas of Paris, and Ratramn of Corbey, may very possibly have been three repetitions of one original blunder, whether it was a wilful error or an involuntary mistake" (p. 447). This is a clumsy attempt to get rid of a difficulty, and comes with peculiar inconsistency from Dr. Swainson, as these three clauses appear in Denebert's Profession of Faith, which he adopts as one of his types of the condition of the Quicunque during his period of growth, and which was drawn up before any of the treatises containing these citations was composed. That these writers did not 'copy one from another,' as Dr. Swainson asserts they did, is apparent from the fact that they all describe the Creed differently. Theodulph, who is supposed to have taken the lead in the matter, quotes the passage as simply from Athanasius; the unknown writer on the Procession, who, if he was Alcuin, as he may have been, must have written before Theodulph, and if he was not, must have written about the same time, quotes it as from "the Exposition of the Catholic Faith, which that excellent doctor" (*i.e.* Athanasius) "composed;" Æneas of Paris, as from "the Catholic Faith" ("item idem;" *i.e.* Athanasius, "in Fide Catholica"); and Ratramn, who wrote about the same time as Æneas, as from "the treatise on the Faith, which he" (*i.e.* Athanasius) "put forth."

But Dr. Swainson does not appear to feel very sure of his footing here; for he continues (p. 447): "Whatever our theory be, whatever our explanation, the fact remains, that no one before Theodulph quotes any words of the Quicunque as words of Athanasius." Be it so; but the fact is immaterial if the Quicunque as a whole was attributed to that Father before the time of Theodulph, before the ninth century. That

it was so, I think I have shown upon sufficient evidence—evidence, too, which is additional to that to the same effect supplied by the Vienna Psalter.* Then he alleges as fact "that during the next sixty years the quotations adduced are confined to clause 2, in addition to the nine which we find in Theodulph; and that Hincmar, writing after the death of Godeschalk—that is, in or after the year 868—quotes as from 'the Catholic Faith, published by Athanasius,' only clauses 3, 4, 5, 6." This passage is full of inaccuracies. Theodulph quotes eight clauses of the Creed, not nine; viz., from the 21st to the 28th inclusive. Hincmar never once uses the expression here attributed to him, "the Catholic Faith, published by Athanasius." And yet more, it is not the fact that Hincmar quotes "only clauses 3, 4, 5, 6," as from Athanasius; for on one occasion he quotes clauses 25, 26, and 27 ("And in this Trinity," etc.), together with 3 and 4, and that as one continuous quotation, commencing with the words "Fides igitur catholica, *ut Athanasius dicit*, hæc est."† These three clauses, too, appear in the profession of Faith to which Hincmar required the assent of Gothescalcus, and which, in his work entitled 'Plea for Delay,' etc., published only two years ago, Dr. Swainson printed as one of his types of the condition of the Quicunque during his period of its growth. Again, it is not the fact that these quotations were made by Hincmar "after the death of Godeschalk; that is, in or after the year 868;" for they are all found in Hincmar's treatise, 'De una, non trina Deitate,' which was written, not after, but some time before, the death of Gothescalcus, an event placed by some in 868; by others, in the year following. This is expressly stated in the conclusion, which gives

* See above, pp. 224, 225.

† Hincmar, 'De una, non trina Deitate,' col. 540.

the account of that event, and therefore must have been written later. The circumstance has escaped Dr. Swainson's notice, who seems to infer from the conclusion being written after the death of Gothescalcus, that the rest was so too; whereas the whole of the treatise, with that exception, was written some time before. Accordingly, Sirmond assigns for its date the year 857. Consequently it cannot be the fact that "during the next sixty years" (*i.e.* the sixty years after Theodulph wrote) "the quotations adduced are confined to clause 2, in addition to" those quoted by him. Moreover, when Dr. Swainson made this assertion, he forgot that the seventh clause, which does not appear in Theodulph's citation, is quoted, and that as the language of Athanasius, by Alcuin, or the writer of the treatise on the Procession attributed to him.

But still further, it must be remembered that during these sixty years the Commentary of Fortunatus, or, as Dr. Swainson prefers calling it, "the Exposition of the Oxford and Florence Manuscripts," was extant, according to his own tacit admission; for he argues upon the hypothesis that it was so. And this Commentary contains or quotes no fewer than twenty-nine of the forty-two clauses of the Quicunque—according to Dr. Swainson, thirty—by far the greater number not being included in the quotations of Hincmar, or Theodulph, or the other writers of the period. True, it does not quote the Quicunque as the work of Athanasius; but this surely is immaterial, considering the obvious identity of the document which it quotes and expounds with our Quicunque or Athanasian Creed; considering, too, the scarcely less obvious identity of that document with the one quoted by Hincmar and Theodulph, and attributed by them, as by their contem-

* Pages 428, 429, 431.

poraries, to Athanasius. I say scarcely less obvious, the identity being proved by the facts, that of the seven clauses quoted by the former of these writers, no fewer than five appear in the Commentary; and that of the eight quoted by the latter, two (viz., the 24th and 25th) are also found there. I have already pointed out* that besides the clauses quoted by Hincmar as from Athanasius, he also quotes, or rather adapts after his manner, three (viz., the 19th, 20th, and the 27th) as the teaching of 'the Catholic Faith.' I leave it now to persons to judge whether it is the fact "that during the next sixty years" (*i.e.* from 810 to 870) "the quotations adduced are confined to clause 2 in addition to" those found in Theodulph.

In this, as in his former works, Dr. Swainson has omitted to notice the Epistle of Jesse of Amiens, so remarkable as bearing evidence of the reception of the Athanasian Creed in Gaul early in the ninth century.

Since writing his last work he has become convinced of the identity of Hatto, or Ahyto, Bishop of Basle, whose Capitulare of the same date directs the clergy to recite 'the Faith of Saint Athanasius,' and he sees no reason 'to reject the evidence.'† Elsewhere he labours hard, but in vain, to surmount the difficulty with which his theory is pressed in consequence.

In regard to the Vienna Psalter, Dr. Swainson rejects the date hitherto assigned to it, his only ground for so doing being the opinion of the present librarians at Vienna; and he says that a private letter from one of them characterises the statement that it belongs to the age of Charlemagne as 'a myth, and not true.'‡ I submit that this anonymous

* See above, Appendix, Note H.

† Page 292. ‡ Pages 199, 373.

opinion, unsupported by reasons, cannot be entitled to any weight, when contrasted with the array of great authorities who are in favour of the earlier date—Silvestre and his co-adjutors, the authors of the 'Nouveau Traité,' and the former librarians, Lambecius and Denis. * He adds that Denis "admitted that the tradition was questioned," meaning obviously the tradition that the Psalter was sent, or intended to be sent, by Charlemagne as a present to Pope Adrian I. But to the best of my recollection Denis says nothing of the kind. He suggests that possibly the dedicatory verses addressed to the Pope might have been prefixed to other Psalters written by order of Charlemagne, and it is in regard to this point that he uses the words quoted by Dr. Swainson: "Statuant eruditi, quicquid enim statuerint, nec ætati nec pretio codicis quidquam decedet;" *i.e.* the point, however determined, cannot detract from the antiquity or value of the manuscript. † Denis does not express the slightest doubt as to the manuscript belonging to the age of Charlemagne. The present catalogue appears to endorse his account and view.

Dr. Swainson in this, as in his previous work, pronounces the Treves fragment to be, not the Athanasian Creed, but a sermon, or rather a portion of a sermon or address; and no doubt he is right. But notwithstanding that he holds this view of the fragment, he most inconsistently maintains it to be the original form and text of the latter part of the Creed; indeed, he persuades himself that every person who has devoted any attention to the subject "has come to the conclusion that this Treves fragment must have furnished the

* See above, pp. 213, 214.

† 'Codices Manuscripti Bibliothecæ Vindobonensis.' Recensuit M. Denis, vol. i. pp. 54–70.

lines out of which the latter part of the Quicunque was framed."* I have endeavoured to show in the preceding pages the untenableness of this position. †

Several ways of escaping from the difficulty presented by the Autun Canon, which is allowed by him to be of great antiquity, are proposed by Dr. Swainson. By the way, he describes it as being found in the *Anjou* Collection—a mistake, we may presume, of the press for *Angers*—but it occurs three times. First he affirms that "Sirmond 'guessed' that the Canon might be assigned to the Council of Autun under Leodgar." ‡ The word "guessed" is apparently his translation of the Latin "autumavit," which he cites without giving his authority. The correctness of this translation, which is, to say the least, open to question, we need not stop to discuss, because we are able to adduce the very words employed by Sirmond when he first edited this Canon. First he gives the Canons relating to monastic discipline, which appear in the 44th title or chapter of the Angers Collection, inscribing them with the heading, "Concilium Augustodunense Sancti Leodegarii Augustodunæ civitatis Episcopi circa annum Christi DCLXX.," etc. Then he immediately adds: "Ad Augustodunensem præterea S. Leodegarii Synodum referendus videtur qui in altera collectione canonum e bibliotheca S. Benigni Divionensis, atque in aliis citatur appellaturque primus canon Augustodunensis his verbis." The Canon, with its heading or title, is subjoined. § Dr. Swainson continues: "And the process by which this guess [*i.e.* Sirmond's supposed guess] is upheld is somewhat amusing." It would be amusing by its absurdity if it were real. In the said "process" a fanciful and improbable conjecture

* Pages 263-265. † See above, pp. 304, 305. ‡ Page 270.
§ 'Concilia antiqua Galliæ,' tom. i. pp. 506, 507. Paris, 1629.

of Le Cointe respecting the heading of the Canon, "Canones Augustodunenses Æra I.," plays the principal figure. This is assumed by our author to be the ground for ascribing the Canon to St. Leodegar. Le Cointe supposed the expression 'Æra I.' in the heading to denote the year in which the Council was held according to the Spanish era. He also supposed that 'DCCI.' was the original and true reading, and not 'I.,' as errors in numerals are of frequent occurrence; and the year 701 in the Spanish era, which commenced B.C. 38, would coincide with the year A.D. 663. To this date accordingly he assigned the Council of Autun. * What possible connection can exist between this conjecture and the grounds on which Sirmond in the first place assigned the Canon to the Council held under Leodegar, or those on which others have accepted and endorsed his conclusion? In fact, the conjecture was made after the Canon had been assigned to Leodegar by Sirmond; for it was so assigned by him, as we have seen, when he first edited it in 1629. Le Cointe's Annals did not appear till some years later. The latter, besides, appears to have been perfectly singular in his notions respecting the date of the Council and the meaning of the word 'Æra' in the heading of the Canon. Sirmond understood the word as simply denoting number. Dr. Swainson next has recourse to Mr. Ffoulkes' argument against the authenticity of this Canon (p. 271), which, it might be presumed, would have appeared to him unnecessary had he felt perfect confidence in his own previous solution. This is based upon the fact that in the Herovall Collection, as edited by Migne, there is another Autun Canon, numbered I. Upon this point I must refer to what I have said above (pp. 266–268), merely adding that even if the Canon relating to the

* 'Cointii Annales,' an. 663, n. 6.

Athanasian Creed could be proved not to have been the First Canon of Autun, it would not follow that it did not belong at all to the Autun Synod of St. Leodegar. Dr. Swainson has a third string to his bow. The Canon, he suggests, did not refer to the Athanasian Creed at all, but to the Profession of Faith, already alluded to, which appears in the ninth book of Vigilius ('De Trinitate'), and has been ascribed to several persons, among them Athanasius.* The answer is not far to seek: first, that among the various titles applied to this Profession of Faith, that which occurs in the Autun Canon —'Fides sancti Athanasii'—is never found, whereas it is frequently used of the Athanasian Creed; and further, that in no single instance can this Profession be proved to have been required to be learned and recited by the clergy, as is the case with regard to the 'Fides S. Athanasii' in the Canon, whereas it is notorious that the Athanasian Creed was thus enjoined upon the clergy; and if the Ballerini are right, a Canonical injunction to this effect is extant dating earlier than the Autun Council.

In regard to Fortunatus' Commentary, Dr. Swainson adheres with little variation to the views previously expressed by him. He prints the same series of clauses contained or quoted in it from the Creed which appeared in his previous work, including the imaginary 20th clause within brackets, framed as I have described. He does not, however, entitle these quotations "Fides Catholica," as he once did. He declares his conviction, that when the Commentary was written the Creed did not contain the clauses which the Commentary passes over, and he particularizes 2, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29.† Thus, in the most recent phase of his theory, he still maintains the manifest

* Pages 267, 267. † Pages 428, 429, 431.

paradox, that during a certain period the Creed did contain the clauses asserting for each of the Three Persons the attributes and titles of Divinity apart from and unaccompanied by its clearly co-ordinate and counterbalancing assertions of the undivided Unity of the Divine Substance. In his 'Excursus on the Sixth Millennium' he makes a feeble and ineffectual attempt to parry the force of Dr. Heurtley's argument respecting the date of the Commentary.

In this book we have Dr. Swainson's matured conclusions on the subject of which it treats, the result of some years' thought and study, together with a vast amount of information which he has collected with considerable labour. It may be presumed that we are here put in possession of all the arguments and facts which he is able to adduce in support of his theory. Has he proved his case? My conviction is that he has not done so, in fact, that he has done the very reverse. For while his arguments are of the usual negative and inconclusive character, his research has brought to light some new facts which supply additional and positive evidence of the falsity of his theory and of the antiquity of the Creed. Thus, in addition to the Psalters of the ninth century, containing the Quicunque, which are noticed by Waterland, he mentions and describes four others also containing it; viz., St. Gall. 15, St. Gall. 23, St. Gall. 27, and St. Gall. 20; also a Bible, in which the Psalms were used for Church purposes, all belonging to the same century. In all I think he enumerates eight Psalters containing it which belong to this century. Now of course these can be but a mere fraction of the Psalters of the same date containing the Quicunque which are extant in various places even at the present day, and cannot be a hundredth, probably not a thousandth, part of all the Psalters of that date containing

it which were originally extant. So that merely from the facts stated by Dr. Swainson, it appears that the Quicunque must very frequently have found a place in Psalters of the ninth century. Is it possible to suppose then, bearing in mind that in Psalters, as elsewhere, it is always found in its integrity, that it was not brought to completion until the latter part of that century? But this is not all. He describes a Psalter of a still earlier date which also contains the Quicunque.* It is in the Paris Library, numbered 13159, and is assigned by M. Delisle, the custodian of manuscripts at Paris, to the year 795. Moreover, this MS. bears express internal evidence of its date (I am following Dr. Swainson's own account); for it contains a Litany, in which there are petitions for Pope Leo and King Charles, that God would give them, among other blessings, life and health. "Ut dominum apostolicum leonem . . . conservare digneris," and "ut dominum carolum regem conservare digneris." Who were this Pope Leo and this Charles? Had there been no further clue to the date, it might have been asserted that they were Leo IV. and Charles the Bald, in which case the date of the manuscript would have been determined to the Pontificate of the former; viz., from 847 to 855. Even thus it would have been fatal to Dr. Swainson's theory. But preceding this Litany there is another which also contains petitions, first for Pope Leo, then for Charles: "Carolo excellentissimo . . . magno et pacifico Regi francorum et longobardorum ac patricio Romanorum vita et victoria." These were the titles of Charlemagne *before* he was crowned Emperor on Christmas-day, A.D. 800; after that he was designated 'Carolus Augustus.' Thus the Pope Leo and King Charles of this manuscript must be Leo III. and

* Pages 350–352.

Charlemagne, and these petitions alone fix its date between the consecration of the former, which took place quite at the close of the year 795 (his predecessor, Adrian, died on Christmas-day of that year) and the coronation of the latter as Emperor; *i.e.* Christmas-day, A.D. 800. Nor is this all. Dr. Swainson tells us of other MSS., affording new and positive evidence of the falsity of his theory; viz., Vat. Pal. 574, Paris 1451, and Paris 3848 B. "These manuscripts," he says, "are all put down to the beginning of the ninth century, and in them all the Quicunque is described as the 'Faith of Athanasius.' Their dates are assigned by Professor Rifferscheid or Professor Maassen."* They are copies of Collections of Canons. The first is described by the Ballerini, who say of it: "Vetustissimum semper vocat Holstenius, antiquitatemque ipsa codicis forma, et characterum figuræ comprobant." Even should it not date earlier than the beginning of the ninth century, the fact would confirm their opinion, that the additions (among which the Athanasian Creed is found) to the Collection contained in it were made in the eighth century. This testimony to the Creed's antiquity I have noticed in the 26th section of my third chapter.† The second of these MSS. is proved to belong either to the end of the eighth or the commencement of the following century by the prefatory matter, "which includes," says Dr. Swainson, "a catalogue of the Popes to Hadrian I.;"‡ and it states that "Adrianus sedit annos xxii. menses x. dies xvii."—a clear proof that it was written some time during the Pontificate of his successor, which began at the close of the year 795, and terminated A.D. 816. The third contains the Herovall Collection, preceded by the Athanasian

* Page 449, also pp. 267 and 268.

† Above, p. 226. ‡ Page 434, Note 2.

Creed; and I think it worthy of notice that this MS. which gives the Autun Canon (it appears always in the first chapter of the Herovall Collection), gives also the Creed, with the same title (if Dr. Swainson is right) by which it is designated in that Canon. This MS. is marked, according to Maassen, 'Cod. lat. Paris 3848 B. sæc. ix. ineunt.' How does Dr. Swainson get over the evidence of these documents? He lives in hopes that the labours of the Palæographical Society will furnish proof of their later date. This is indeed cutting the knot which he cannot untie. Thus he informs us of one MS. of the Creed certainly belonging to the end of the eighth century, and three 'put down to the beginning of the ninth;' and yet he concludes that "the whole evidence seems to show that the Quicunque was completed between the years 860 and 870!"

Moreover, Dr. Swainson's pages not only supply new evidence of the unsoundness of his theory and of the antiquity of the Creed, but confirm the old. In this work * he notices, for the first time, I believe, the St. Germain's MS. of the Creed—that marked in Montfaucon's time, "Regius 4908"—and the Ambrosian MS. The first of these is noticed in the 27th section of my third chapter, p. 227; the second in the 23rd section, p. 188; the third in the 29th, p. 249. Any one of these MSS., if of the date assigned by Montfaucon, must be fatal to Dr. Swainson's theory, and, it may be added, to Mr. Ffoulkes' also. And surely we are entitled, in reliance upon Montfaucon's great authority, to assume that he was not wrong until the contrary is proved; for clearly the burthen of proof rests with those who dispute his conclusions. In regard to the first and second of these MSS., Dr. Swainson has not a word to say in disproof of

* Pages 329, 330, 313–320.

the dates assigned to them. In regard to the third, he supplies a positive confirmation of Montfaucon's judgment; for he informs us that "Dr. Ceriani, the well-known librarian, . . . assured" him "that he considered it to be of the eighth century." He adds some reasons for connecting this document with Alcuin, which it is really unnecessary to spend time in considering. I have previously mentioned that Ceriani, who is, it will be recollected, the present librarian at Milan, expressed his opinion respecting this MS. to Mr. Burgon. Yet, notwithstanding all this, we are told that "the whole evidence seems to show that the Quicunque was completed . . . between the years 860 and 870!"

I am indebted to Dr. Swainson's researches for the incidental confirmation which they afford to replies made by me to Mr. Ffoulkes' arguments on two points. The latter contended that the MS. in which the Treves fragment is found could not be earlier than the ninth century because it contains four confessedly apocryphal documents, including the Constituta of Silvester, and also the Gelasian Decree;* and similarly, that the Herovall Collection could not have been compiled before the same century because it contains this Decree and a quotation from the Constituta of Silvester.† My answer is, that the four documents in question are considered by learned men—Coustant and others—to have been drawn up early in the sixth century, and that we have external evidence of their existence in the eighth century, and even earlier;‡ and with regard to the Gelasian Decree, that there is ample evidence of its existence prior to the eighth century. Dr. Swainson states, upon the authority of Maassen, that there are four other MSS. in existence contain-

* Above, p. 236. † Above, pp. 262, 263.
‡ Above, pp. 237-241.

ing the same Collection which appears in Paris Lat. 3836, and consequently the four apocryphal documents in question and the Gelasian Decree, one of them (Darmst. 2336) being of the eighth century, and another, said to be in the library of the monastery of St. Paul at Kärnthen, *of the sixth.** Thus additional evidence is afforded of the soundness of my position. Neither of these MSS. could have been known to Thiel, who is silent about them. It would be very interesting to ascertain the exact form of the Gelasian Decree in the earlier of the two. The correctness of Coustant's opinion with respect to the date of the four forgeries seems clearly established by it.

Dr. Swainson rejects the theory of Mr. Ffoulkes, and considers that the Capitulum on which the latter relied as proving that the Athanasian Creed was published by Charlemagne in 802 was wrongly assigned by Pertz to Charlemagne's Capitulare of that date.

I cannot conclude my necessarily brief remarks upon Dr. Swainson's book without noticing the plain and distressing indications which it affords of an increasing hostility to the Athanasian Creed and its doctrines. He denounces it as a forgery, adding that its production "under the name of Athanasius was an intentional and deliberate attempt to deceive," and "was analogous to the production of the forged decretals." † This is the first time, to the best of my knowledge, that he has made such a charge; and it is indeed a serious allegation, coming from one who occupies positions of dignity and influence in the Church, and in one of our Universities. And serious as the charge is, it is manifestly unjustifiable; for it is not supported by a shadow of proof that deserves the name. Indeed, Mr. Ffoulkes has made out

* Pages 260, 261. † Pages 380, 381.

a far more ingenious and plausible case to justify *his* imputation of forgery. Moreover, considering by whom the charge is made, it is manifestly inconsistent and absurd. "My belief is," are Dr. Swainson's words, "that it"—*i.e.* the Quicunque—"was published about the same time that they were;" *i.e.* the Decretal Epistles. But how could this have been the case, assuming the truth of his theory? For two years ago he maintained that the Quicunque was not completed before 870; now he tells us that it was completed between 860 and 870, but "was not generally known, not known even to Hincmar,"* in the year 869, although completed in the ecclesiastical province over which Hincmar presided. So that in his view it could not have been published before 870. Now, the latest date assigned to the completion of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals is that assigned by Hinschius —851 or 852; and, according to the same authority, they were cited at the Synod of Kiersy in 857. The Ballerini set their publication about 845; others, still earlier. Then this charge in Dr. Swainson's lips can only mean that the Creed was not attributed to St. Athanasius before the date assigned by him for its completion, and so, in fact, he says: "It was attributed at once" (*i.e.* upon its completion) "to the great Patriarch of Alexandria."† But how can this be maintained in face of the abundant and irresistible evidence that exists to the contrary?

And the work under our consideration betrays an increasing hostility on the part of its author to the teaching of the Creed, as well as to the Creed itself. "The difference between the Father, the Son, and the Spirit of the Bible, and the Father, the Son, and the Spirit of the Athanasian Creed, is, practically speaking, immeasurable. It is the difference be-

* Page 448. † Page 435.

tween the Father, Brother, Friend, viewed in their relations to us, and an analysis of their relations to each other." Thus he expresses himself in his conclusion. With this passage, which speaks for itself, let the following passages be compared, drawn from his work, published in 1870, in which he first broached his proposals to mutilate and reform the Creed by way of preserving it. The comparison is suggestive. "Clearly our so-called Athanasian Creed is disliked by some, because it insists on our attending to facts, which it says are at the basis of all our hopes of future life. I thank God that it has compelled me to listen." Again: "I bring the Exposition" (*i.e.* the Athanasian Creed) "to the test of the Scriptures, and am satisfied that its statements and propositions are true." *

I must take this opportunity of expressing my regret at finding that among the testimonies to the antiquity of the Creed I have omitted one which is clearly pertinent to my purpose; viz., the Psalter containing the Creed which belongs to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and is described by Waterland, and dated by him A.D. 850.

* 'The Athanasian Creed and its Usage in the English Church,' pp. 82, 83.

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